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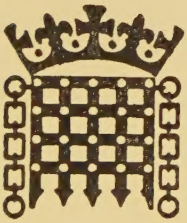

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RANDOM RECOLLECTIONS

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

FROM

THE YEAR 1830 TO THE CLOSE OF 1835,

INCLUDING

PERSONAL SKETCHES

OF THE

LEADING MEMBERS OF ALL PARTIES

BY

ONE OF NO PARTY

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
SMITH, ELDER, & Co. CORNHILL.

1836.

LONDON:
Printed by J. L. Cox and Sons, 75, Great Queen Street,
Lincoln's Inn Fields.

PREFACE.

The Author, during a very regular attendance in the House of Commons for several years past, has been in the habit of taking notes of what was most interesting in the proceedings, as well as of the personal and oratorical peculiarities of the leading members.

The notes, thus taken from time to time, have accumulated to a size sufficient to form the volume now presented to the public, to a large majority of whom much of its contents, it is presumed, will be novel and interesting.

In his descriptions of the Members it has been his earnest desire to be guided by the strictest impartiality; and he trusts that he has so far succeeded in his object as to betray no political bias in any of his sketches.

As has elsewhere in the volume been remarked, the Author has selected for his subjects those members whose names are most frequently before the public. Hence it necessarily follows, that no mention is made of many members of great weight and value as Legislators, and of even higher talents than several who are noticed, but who do not take a prominent part in the proceedings of the House.

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FIRST EDITION of "RANDOM RECOLLECTIONS."

The following are a few out of upwards of One Hundred and Fifty equally favourable notices, which the First Edition of this work received in the course of five or six weeks:—

"This is sure to be a welcome volume to our country friends. They look forward anxiously to the meeting of Parliament—they read daily, and for months together, the speeches of its members—they take an active part in the war of words and yet but few o them know any thing of the arena where the battle is fought, or of the quality, condition, or manners, of the personal oratorica characteristics of the several combatants, in whose triumph or defeat they take an interest. Here, then, is a work, that is to unravel the mystery, and an Author who will kindly, and willingly, answer all their questions." *Athenæum*. [First Notice.]

"We now conclude our gallery of Literary Senators, by referring those of our readers who are interested in the subject to the volume itself, which is varied and pleasant."—*Athenæum*. [Third Notice.]

"We are not surprised that this volume, should at once have obtained a rapid sale. The specimens of its contents which have appeared in the daily journals, were well adapted to whet the reader's curiosity; and every one who takes the slightest interest in public affairs, cannot but be gratified at this peep into the House of Commons; nay, it is more than a peep, for, as on the *Camera Obscura*, the living figures pass before the Author shadowed with such graphic distinctness, that he can discern the minutest circumstances in their characteristic gait and gesture. He shows sound judgment in the use he has made of his knowledge, and his close and watchful observation must strike every one."—*Eclectic Review*.

"If this work have not a great run, as it is technically called, we shall incontinently give up literary prophecy. It is racy in the extreme and contains a strong touch of the humorous. Its impartiality is unimpeachable. The ludicrous traits of both Whigs and Tories are recorded with a marvellous, and we must say, a grinning fidelity. The author rejoices in these absurdities, and thus pleasantly damns the perpetrators of them to everlasting fame. For pleasant reading this work has no superior, and it will be exceedingly valuable to the future historian, as it is now absolutely necessary to the modern quidnunc."—*Metropolitan*.

"Among the host of new publications that been have flung upon the town since "the season" commenced, no one volume has created so great an interest as the work before us. The unknown author's striking and truly graphic representations possess the greatest interest. His style is fresh and vigorous,

and the subject afforded a fine field for the exercise of his talents."—*Monthly Magazine.*

"Most faithful and lively representations. Nothing more satisfactory could be put into written language. The style is remarkably clear and correct, and no novel, no annual, no sketch-book of the season, contains so many striking papers or portraitures. The pictures stood fairly and fully out to the Author's apprehension, and he makes them appear in all their individuality to the reader. No work of equal interest has appeared for six months past, or will appear for six months to come. In a few weeks it will be in every library, and on every drawing-room table, in the kingdom."—*Monthly Review.*

"Entirely satisfactory and delightful."—*New Monthly.*

"The work is written with much good nature, good humour, and good taste. The author has a facility of description and a perception of character which put his pen-and-ink sketches on a level with the pencil of a George Cruickshank, a D'Orsay, or a Croquis."—*Bell's Weekly Messenger.*

"A most amusing work."—*Morning Herald.*

"Be the author of the work now before us who he may, it will undoubtedly become popular. It contains sketches of no fewer than one hundred members who have figured in the House of Commons since 1830; and we are sincerely of opinion, that more impartial sketches, or political portraitures in better taste, have seldom been given to the public. The work will be more extensively circulated and carefully read than any single volume which has been published within the last three years."—*Sun.*

"Most striking and graphic sketches. The author is obviously a man of very accurate observation, and has a strong perception of the humorous."—*True Sun.*

"Decidedly the most clever, as it certainly is the most popular work of the kind, we ever read. It is the production of a careful observer of men and things. It points out, with a nice discrimination, the peculiar characters of the leading members. We venture to say, that this work will do more to make the public acquainted with men of all parties, than any thing which has yet appeared."—*Liverpool Journal.*

"A very entertaining work. It is a great matter to get a book from one who makes such good use of his opportunities of observation as the unknown author has done.—*Manchester Advertiser.*

"A most extraordinary work. It cannot fail to excite a great sensation both in the literary and political world."—*Scots Times.*

"Vigorous and impartial sketches, full of the force of truth and the distinctness of originality."—*Bucks Herald.*

"It is a book which every elector in the country should peruse, and also every one who desires to see the best picture extant of the House of Commons."—*Tait's Magazine.*

RANDOM RECOLLECTIONS,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

THE HOUSE.

I SHALL not soon forget the disappointment which I experienced on the first sight of the interior of the House of Commons.* I had indeed been told that it but ill accorded with the dignity of what has been termed the first assembly of gentlemen in the world, or with the importance of the subjects on which they were convened to legislate, but I was not at all prepared for such a place as I then be-

* This was of course the old House of Commons. The new House is much larger, better lighted, and in every respect much more comfortable than the old one; but what is said regarding the arrangement of seats, the places of members, and other matters of form, applies equally to the old and new houses.

held. It was dark, gloomy, and badly ventilated, and so small that not more than four hundred out of the six hundred and fifty-eight members could be accommodated in it with any measure of comfort. When an important debate occurred, but especially when that debate was preceded by a call of the House, the members were really to be pitied: they were literally crammed together, and the heat of the house rendered it in some degree a second edition of the Black Hole of Calcutta. On either side there was a gallery, every corner of which was occupied by legislators; and many, not being able to get even standing room, were obliged to lounge in the refreshment apartments adjoining St. Stephen's, until the division,—when they rushed to the voting room in as much haste as if the place they had quitted had been on fire.

The ceiling, the sides, and ends of the house were lined with wainscot. The floor was covered over with a mat, and the seats of the members consisted of plain benches well cushioned, and covered with leather. From the floor backwards to the walls, each seat was from twelve to fourteen inches higher than the one fronting it. The front row of benches on either side was within three feet of the table. The row on the right of the Speaker was invariably occupied by the members of the Govern-

ment and their most influential supporters, and that on the left by the leading individuals in the Opposition. The table of the house was within five or six feet from the chair : in length it measured six feet, and in breadth four. At the end next the chair sat the clerks of the House ; and when the members were in committee, on which occasion the Speaker vacated the chair, the Chairman of Committees invariably sat at the corner on the right hand of the clerks. The Speaker's chair was raised twelve or fourteen inches above the floor of the house, and measured nine feet in height. In form it somewhat resembled our modern easy chairs, but had solid sides, and was covered over at the top. It stood a few feet from the farthest end of the house, which was only seven or eight yards from the Thames. The Speaker always entered by a door exclusively appropriated to himself at the end of the house next the river, while all the members entered by a door at the other end, in a strait line with the chair. Immediately above the place where the members entered was the strangers' gallery, and underneath it were several rows of seats for friends of the members. To these seats there was no mode of admission except that of being taken in by one of the members. To the strangers' gallery, a note or order from a member, or the payment of half-a

crown to the door-keper, would at once procure admission. At the farthest end of the passage, after you had entered the house, were several rows of benches which extended on either side from the walls to the passage. The other seats extended along the house, and hence these were called the cross benches. They were always occupied by members who professed to belong to no party—to be neither the friends nor opponents of Government, but who stood on perfectly neutral ground, judging of measures only by their abstract merits or defects. It was from one of these benches that Lord Stanley (then Mr. Stanley) made his celebrated "thimble-rig" speech, after he, Sir James Graham, the Duke of Richmond, and Lord Rippon had seceded from the Administration of Earl Grey.

I have already mentioned, that the members of Government and their leading friends occupy the first row of benches on the right hand side of the Speaker's chair, and that the most influential of the Opposition occupy the first row on the left; the other supporters of each party range themselves on the benches behind their respective leaders; consequently when there is a change of Government, the quondam Ministry and their supporters move over in a body from the right to the left side of the house, to make way for the new Administration

and their friends. There are, however, a few members belonging to the extreme Radical party who never change their seats, whatever Ministry may be in power, because no men sufficiently liberal for them have ever yet been in office. Among these are Hume, Cobbett,* Roebuck, and several others.† Their seats are therefore always on the Opposition benches, and when the Whigs have been in power, the circumstance has often led to strange associations. When Sir Charles Wetherell and the late Henry Hunt, men whose politics were wide as the poles asunder, were both in Parliament, it was no uncommon thing to see them sitting in close juxtaposition with each other, often, too, engaged in most earnest conversation together, as if the utmost cordiality and the most perfect unanimity of political feeling existed between them. In the Reformed Parliament might be seen Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Cobbett sitting cheek-by-jowl, while close by them were to be found Sir Robert Inglis, the great advocate of the Church of England and ecclesiastical establishments in general, and Mr. Gillon, the sworn foe of both, apparently as friendly together as if of one heart and one soul in such matters.

* Since this was written, Mr. Cobbett has died.

† Towards the end of last session several of the Radical members went over to the other side of the house.

There are some members who not only never change from one side of the house to the other whatever alteration may take place in the Ministry, but who never change their identical seats; they invariably occupy the same twelve or fourteen inches of space. Mr. Hume, is one of the most noted members in this respect; his seat in the old house was close to one of the posts which supported the side gallery on the left of the Speaker's chair; there he was constantly to be found. There is not, nor has there been since he was first returned to parliament, a single member whose attendance on his legislative duties has been so regular and close as that of Mr. Hume; the moment the doors were opened there was he, and never until the adjournment was his seat to be seen vacant. There were many other members who made a point of "looking in to see what's doing" almost every evening; but they soon left the house again. Not so Mr. Hume; he was there at all times and during every debate, however dry and uninteresting. He was looked on by "honourable gentlemen" as a sort of animated fixture. His contiguity to the post and the regularity of his attendance made a Tory baronet, who was in the house during the close borough régime, waggishly remark, "There is Joseph always at his *post*." Whether Sir Charles Wetherell, or Sir

William Cumming, a Scotch baronet, is entitled to the credit of the witty observation, I have not been able to ascertain, as both were members of the last Unreformed Parliament and both were equally lavish of their waggeries. It has often been a matter of surprise how Mr. Hume's constitution could stand such close attendance in the house, especially when the unhealthy atmosphere* he had to breathe, and the quantity of speaking he went through, were taken into account; and yet, excepting on one or two occasions, he was never heard to complain of illness. Can it be that there are any peculiarly salubrious qualities in pears? for, by his own admission, he always filled his pockets with this species of fruit when it was to be had, and ate the pears in the house, making them answer as a substitute for dinner. Colonel Leith Hay, before he was a member of Government, as well as since, Mr. Warburton, Mr. Humphrey, Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Ruthven, Mr. Pease, the Quaker member, and many others, including men of all parties, whose names it is unnecessary to give, were also very regular in their attendance,† though I

* The last House of Commons was an extremely unhealthy place.

† I speak here in the past tense, because my observations chiefly refer to the late House of Commons, both in respect

am not aware that they patronized the consumption of pears in the house.

Members who wish to sit in any particular part of the house on a given evening must go down at the time of prayers, and label the particular place with their name. If they neglect to do this, they cannot claim any particular seat as a right,—though it may be conceded to them by the courtesy of other members, if it be the place they usually filled. The seats occupied by members of the Government are, however, understood to be exceptions to this rule. Ministers, and those holding important Government offices, are not put to the trouble of placarding their names on the backs of their seats, as no other member, however crowded the house, would think of occupying their places. When an important debate is expected, almost all the seats, with the exception of those occupied by the members of the Government, are thus labelled the moment that prayers are over. At the time of the second reading of the Reform Bill, every member was naturally anxious to secure a seat in a good part of the house, and in order to make assurance doubly sure that none of his "honourable friends"

to the place and the members. The same observations, as to those members here named who are in the present Parliament, still apply with equal truth.

should pre-engage the one which he had, in his own mind, fixed on, Mr. R. Fergusson went down one day during the adjourned debate at seven in the morning, that being the hour at which the servants cleaned the house. To his great surprise he found the discussion still proceeding which he had left the previous night at a little before twelve, under the impression the debate would be again adjourned. The feeling of the House had become general in favour of a division, and several of the Tories being determined, as the Reformers said, to embrace that as the last opportunity of singing the requiem of the Constitution, had protracted the discussion so long that Mr. Fergusson was just in time to vote, and thus got credit from his constituents and the country for having been in the house all night, in the plenitude of his devotion to the cause of Reform.

Of the strangers' gallery I have as yet said nothing. It was immediately above the door by which the members entered the house. It consisted of five seats, and could accommodate comfortably one hundred and twenty persons; but during important debates I have seen one hundred and fifty wedged into it. On such occasions, it was no uncommon thing to see Peers submitting to be jostled and jammed, and treated with as little ceremony by the

"strangers," as the veriest plebeian in the gallery. They could have procured a comfortable seat in the house itself; not of course among the members, but on some of the benches under the gallery which are set apart for the friends of honourable gentlemen; but they rather preferred encountering all the inconveniences of a seat in the gallery, where they could witness the proceedings *incognito*.

Strangers, as already mentioned, are admitted to the gallery either by an order from a member, or on paying half-a-crown to the door-keeper. No member is allowed to write more than one order for one day, and the day of the week and that of the month, the same as in franking a letter, must be written on it, otherwise the door-keeper may refuse to admit the bearer. Perhaps, on an average, one-half of those who go to the gallery pay half-a-crown each, and the other half are admitted by the orders of members. Taking one evening with another, it is probable the number of persons present in the gallery every day of the session is about one hundred. There is consequently a considerable sum to divide among the officers of the house connected with the gallery. They are six in number. They have, besides, certain fees on all bills which are brought into the House, and also receive gratuities from the members. Mr. Wright is the

principal door-keeper, and has consequently some perquisites peculiar to himself. He is a venerable looking man, upwards of seventy years of age. He has held his present situation more than thirty years, and is said to have made by it a very handsome fortune.

The back seat of the strangers' gallery was exclusively appropriated to reporters. They paid nothing on entering, but the proprietors of the respective papers for which they were engaged paid three guineas for each every session; and as the reporters are from sixty to seventy in number, this alone is no inconsiderable source of revenue to the door-keepers. On the left hand side of the gallery, and immediately above the lobby, was a small room for the benefit of the reporters, in which they might put their hats, cloaks, great coats, &c. when going on duty, and where they might remain until their "turn," to use their own technical term, came. No ladies were admitted to the strangers' gallery, nor could any member take a female friend to one of the seats under it. The only possible way by which ladies could either see or hear what was going on, was by mounting above the ceiling of the house, and looking down through a large hole which was made immediately above the principal chandelier, for the purpose

of ventilation. Not more than fourteen could, at once, see or hear what was going on from this place, and even then but imperfectly. Besides, the smoke of the candles, and the heated atmosphere they inhaled, combined with the awkwardness of the position they were obliged to assume, made the situation so very unpleasant that few remained long in it. Those only who were anxious to hear their husbands, or brothers, or lovers, make some expected oration, had the fortitude to endure the semi-martyrdom of remaining many minutes in such a place.

On the left side of the lobby, or entrance to the house, was the voting room, the place where the votes were registered. Immediately above the voting room was the smoking room, to which members retired from the house who were in the habit of smoking cigars. Here also the members repaired to write letters,—the necessary stationery, and every other convenience, being always kept in abundant supply for the purpose. Directly opposite, and only six or seven feet distant from the smoking room, was a letter bag for the reception of the letters of members. It may be said to have been a branch general post-office, as every person about the house including the reporters, and even strangers in the gallery, were permitted to put letters and news-

papers into it. It was always kept open till seven o'clock. Those of the reporters who had letters to write for country newspapers, found it extremely convenient, as they were by that means enabled to give the proceedings in the House up to within a minute or two of seven o'clock. But for it they must always have left the gallery by about twenty minutes after six, as the general post-office—none of the branch ones were then open later than five o'clock—was nearly two miles and a-half distant.*

Near the door of the smoking-room, but a few feet higher, was the door of the library. The library was chiefly frequented by those members who were in the habit of speaking. To them it was very convenient, as it contained the leading works in history, politics, and general literature. Those not in the way of enlightening the House and the country by their eloquence, always preferred the smoking-room, or the refreshment apartments, to the legislative and literary *tomes* in the library.

There were so many passages and rooms in the old House of Commons, that it was with great difficulty strangers could find their way to the gallery. Sometimes they made very awkward mistakes. It

* It is unnecessary to repeat, that as regards all matters of convenience of this kind, the same remarks equally apply to the present house.

was no uncommon thing for them to go in through the lobby and advance to the door by which the members entered, with the most perfect nonchalance; not taking the trouble to inquire whether they were right, because it never for a moment occurred to them that they were wrong. Judge of a stranger's surprise, when the first intimation made to him that he was treading on forbidden ground, was the being seized by the neck by one of the officers of the House, who on such occasions are as unceremonious, both in their words and actions, as if they were so many Great Moguls, and the hapless stranger the most degraded of slaves.* It was a wonder if the confusion consequent on the first blunder was not the parent of a second; and if, when told that the gallery was up-stairs, he did not, on the principle, in such a case, of taking the first open door, "drop in" among the M.P.'s in the smoking room. Recollecting the treatment he had received from the officers in the lobby, he would, on discovering his mistake, resign himself to the expected calamity of being bundled down stairs, head or heels foremost, as the case might be,—run-

* Let me not, however, be misunderstood here. In consequence of the number of strangers always lounging in the lobby, the officers are often obliged to be very unceremonious.

ning the imminent risk, of course, of having his neck broken in the descent. He would, however, soon find his fears happily dispelled, by being told, in the most civil and good-natured manner possible, by one of the officers—for those in that department were remarkable for their urbanity to strangers—that he had gone to the wrong place, and by being directed up seven or eight stairs to the passage leading to the gallery. If he was surprized at the roughness of his treatment in the lobby, he is now no less so at the attention shewn him, and the readiness with which a merciful consideration is, in his case, extended to the very heinous sin of ignorance of the gallery's *locale*.

Some amusing mistakes from ignorance of the rules of the House occasionally occur. In the session of 1833, a Scotch Highlander, newly arrived from his native hills, got, by some strange oversight of the officers, into the side gallery appropriated for members, on the right of the Speaker's chair. He knew no more of the rules or localities of the house than he did of the politics of Timbuctoo. Never suspecting that he was transgressing any law, human or divine, in entering the side gallery, or when there, taking the best place he could find, he at once advanced to one of the front benches, and there seated himself with the utmost imagi-

nable coolness,—just as if about to "rest himself" on the brow of some of the heath-clad mountains of Caledonia. There were a few straggling members in the side gallery at the time, and perceiving at once from his Highland costume—he was dressed in tartan—that he did not belong to the fraternity of St. Stephen's legislators, they richly enjoyed the amusing blunder which Donald had committed. He, meanwhile, after gazing with boundless astonishment on the huge proportions of the Speaker's wig, and witnessing the bustle that was going on on the floor of the house, turned his eyes towards the strangers' gallery, and seemed quite amazed that so many persons should quietly submit to be so closely squeezed together—to the imminent hazard of their ribs—that they looked one solid mountain of mortality, while there were so many cushioned and comfortable unoccupied seats in the place where he had located himself. At this moment one of the members on an adjoining seat, seeing poor Donald had transgressed from ignorance, whispered to him to make himself scarce in a moment, or that otherwise he would be taken into custody. A word to the wise is enough: the mountaineer took the hint of the friendly M.P., and darted out of the house as well as the gallery in a twinkling. I am credibly assured that he ran at his full speed, not casting

one "longing lingering look behind," till he reached Somerset House in the Strand, a distance of full one mile and a half.

On another occasion, during the session of 1834, a lady, the sister of one of the members, entered the side gallery by mistake, instead of going to the only place above the ceiling whence "the sex" were permitted to have a "peep," for it was nothing more, at the House. She immediately, to speak in parliamentary phraseology, "caught the eye of the Speaker," then Sir Charles Manners Sutton, whose visual organs were always allowed to be as acute in this respect as they were said by the Liberals to be in first recognizing a talented Tory, when a Tory and Reformer rose at the same time to address the House. The Speaker seemed quite delighted with the novelty of a politician in petticoats; he never withdrew his eye from the fair intruder an instant during the short time she remained in the house. She was infinitely more attractive than the eloquence of the orator who, for the time being, chanced to be addressing "the House." Until the lady vanished, Mr. Speaker was as inattentive to the arguments of the honourable member "on his legs," as was the wig on his head or the chair on which he sat. Had the intruder been of the masculine gender, he would, if observed, have been pounced on by the officer in

a moment, but gallantry forbade taking a lady into custody; and therefore, as in the event of its being known that he had seen the transgressor in petticoats, and had failed to do his duty, he would have subjected himself to something more than reproof, he, unlike the Speaker, contrived to appear as if the lady had not caught his eye. After she had been in the prohibited place for nearly a minute, it occurred to her that she was in the wrong locality, and accordingly she made her exit forthwith.

But the most amusing mistake of this nature which occurred in my time, was in the case of a young gentleman from the north of Scotland. It happened in April 1833. A member having taken him into the house, pointed him to a seat under the gallery, of which he immediately took possession; but he had not been above half an hour in it when he began to feel the inconvenience of which the reporters so often complain, namely, that of certain members being "totally inaudible," and as the orator who then addressed the house happened to speak from the third bench on the left of the Speaker's chair, the young Scotsman very naturally concluded that the best way to remedy the evil of not hearing at all, or hearing but very imperfectly, would be to place himself as nearly as pos-

sible in the vicinity of the orator; and as he had always taken it for granted that if introduced into the house by a member, he might take any of the back seats, if not occupied by the legislators themselves, he very deliberately walked himself to the bench immediately behind that whence the honourable member poured forth his eloquence. The house chanced to be pretty full at the time, and there he remained undiscovered upwards of two hours, when it adjourned, and he went out amidst the crowd of honourable and right honourable gentlemen. Mr. Hume, who sat only about two yards distant, cast sundry very suspicious looks towards him, as if apprehending that he was some spy from the Tory camp on the opposite side. Had the House come to a division on the debate during part of which the young Scotchman was present, he would have made the discovery, to his cost, that there is all the difference in the world in the house itself, whatever there may be elsewhere, between a private individual and he whose name is graced by the appendage of an M. P.

CHAPTER II.

FORMS, RULES, REGULATIONS, &c. OF THE HOUSE.

At the time appointed for the meeting of a new Parliament, the King, attended by his officers and guards, goes in state to meet the members of both Houses. On his arrival and departure from the Lords (the only House he ever visits), he is greeted by royal salutes of twenty-one guns each, as well—especially if a popular monarch—as by the plaudits of a vast concourse of his subjects, who invariably, on such occasions congregate in the immediate vicinity of both houses. The first place his Majesty enters is an apartment exclusively devoted to himself, called the Prince's Chamber. Here he puts on his crown and robes, and then proceeds, conducted by the Lord Chamberlain, to the House of Lords, when, having taken his seat on the throne, and received the obeisance of the Lords spiritual and temporal, who all stand in their respective places clothed in their robes of state and office, he desires the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to order the Commons into his presence. On

proceeding to the Lower House, that officer finds the members waiting his arrival, in order that they may promptly obey the commands of their Sovereign. He advances to the bar, making three low bows to the members, and then addressing them, says—"Gentlemen of the House of Commons, the King commands this Honourable House to attend him immediately in the House of Peers." Retiring backwards and again bowing three times, he withdraws.

The Commons forthwith proceed in a body to the bar of the House of Lords, where they make their obeisance both to the King and the Peers. The Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper then commands them, in the King's name, to choose a Speaker for their House from among themselves, who shall be their chairman and the regulator of their proceedings during their sittings, and also the mouthpiece or channel of communication between them and the other branches of the Legislature, during the existence of that parliament. The Commons, after again making their obeisance to their Sovereign and the Peers, retire from the bar of the Upper House, and return to their own House, where, in obedience to the commands of the King, and agreeably to the Constitution, they immediately proceed to the choice of a Speaker. It is necessary, however, before choosing a Speaker, that the mem-

bers present take the necessary oaths, which are administered by the Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household. The mace, which, during the proceedings in the House, except when it is in committee, alway lies on the table, must, at the commencement of every new parliament, and on the death or resignation of the old Speaker, be put under the table. This being done, any honourable member rises and proposes that some other honourable member, whom he names, take the chair. This motion being seconded, if there be no opposition, the honourable member so named is declared to be duly elected, and is led by the mover and seconder of the motion from his seat to the bar of the house, whence they conduct him, bowing three times as they advance, to the chair. After they have seated him, he rises up and returns thanks for the honour they have conferred on him; expressing at the same time a sense of his unfitness for the situation in which they have placed him, and requesting that the House would choose some person more qualified to preside over its proceedings. His request being of course refused, he submits to the pleasure of the House, and, on receiving directions regarding the usual requests to be made on behalf of the House when he waits on the King, he adjourns it to a day appointed for that purpose.

When the choice of a Speaker is to be contested, and another honourable member has been proposed and seconded for the office, the choice is to be determined by what is called a question, namely, taking the votes of all present on the subject. The clerk of the House is the person who on such occasions is addressed by the members who speak in support of the respective candidates, and when the debate is concluded, it is his duty to put the question and count the votes for each. This is done, as in divisions in committees of the whole House, by changing sides. When the contest is expected to be a close one,—as at the meeting of the present parliament when Sir Charles Manners Sutton and Mr. Abercromby were the opposing candidates,—the clerk of the House has a duty of some importance to discharge. Each candidate, as a matter of etiquette, votes for his opponent. Those who were not aware of this conventional arrangement, were surprised when they saw at the last election of Speaker, the name of Sir Charles Manners Sutton as voting for Mr. Abercromby, and that of Mr. Abercromby for Sir Charles. The House then adjourns for a few days, to give time to all the members to take the necessary oaths a second time. If they fail to do this they incur a penalty of £500, and are besides disqualified for voting on the an-

swer to his Majesty's speech, or on any other question. It is not, however, necessary that the oaths be administered to the members separately. I have seen as many as eighteen or twenty members advance to the table and take the oaths at once.

The day appointed for the Speaker's appearance before the King on behalf of the Commons having arrived, the Usher of the Black Rod is again commanded by his Majesty, through the Lord Chamberlain, to summon the members of the Lower House into the presence of the King at the bar of the House of Peers. That officer enters the House of Commons in the same manner, and with the same ceremonies as before, only that he now addresses himself to the Speaker. The Commons, on hearing the King's pleasure announced, immediately proceed to bar of the Upper House, headed by their Speaker, when they make their obeisance to his Majesty and the Peers as before. The Speaker then addresses himself in the following speech to the King :

" Most gracious Sovereign,

" The knights, citizens, and burgesses of your House of Commons, in obedience to your royal command, have proceeded to the choice of a Speaker. They have among them many worthy persons eminently qualified for so great a trust ; yet, with too

favourable an eye, have cast it upon me, who am really conscious to myself of many infirmities, rendering me much unfit for so great an employment. And although my endeavours of excusing myself before them have not been successful, yet they have been so indulgent as to permit me to continue my endeavours therein before your Majesty's most piercing and discerning judgment.

" The veneration due to Majesty which lodgeth in every loyal breast, makes it not an easy matter to speak before your Majesty at any time, or in any capacity. But to speak before your Majesty in your exaltation, thus gloriously supported and attended, and that as Speaker of your House of Commons, requires greater abilities than I can pretend to own.

" I am not also without fear that the public affairs, wherein your Majesty and your kingdom in this juncture of time are so highly concerned, may receive detriment through my weakness.

" I therefore, with a plain humble heart, prostrate at your royal feet, beseech that you will command them to review what they have done, and to proceed to another election."

To this address the Lord Chancellor by direction of his Majesty, returns the following answer,

mentioning at the beginning the name or title of the Speaker.

"The King hath very attentively heard your discreet and handsome discourse, whereby you endeavour to excuse and disable yourself for the place of Speaker: in answer whereof, his Majesty hath commanded me to say to you, that he doth in no sort admit of the same; for his Majesty hath had long experience of your abilities, good affection, integrity, and resolution, in several employments of great trust and weight. He knows you have been long a Parliament man, and therefore every way fitted and qualified for the employment. Besides, he cannot disapprove the election of this House of Commons, especially when they have expressed so much duty in choosing one so worthy and acceptable to him. And therefore the King doth allow of the election, and admits you for Speaker."

On receiving this answer, the Speaker further addresses the King as follows:—

"Great Sir,

"Since it is your gracious pleasure not to accept of my humble excuse, but by your royal approbation to fix me under this great, though honourable weight, and to think me fit to be invested with a trust of so high a nature as this is; I take it, in

the first place, to be incumbent upon me, that I render your Majesty all possible thanks; which I now humbly do, with a heart full of all duty, and offered with a deeper sense of gratitude than I can find words to express.

" Next, from your royal determination in this affair, whereby you have imprinted a new character upon me, I take courage against my own diffidence, and cheerfully bend myself, with such strength and abilities as God shall give, to the service so graciously assigned me; no way doubting that your Majesty will please to pardon my frailties, to accept of my faithful endeavours, and always to look favourably upon the work of your own hands.

" And now, Sir, my first entrance upon this service obliges me to make a few necessary, but humble petitions, on the behalf of your most loyal and dutiful House of Commons.

" 1. That for our better attendance on the public service, we and our servants may be free in our persons and estates from arrests and other disturbances.

" 2. That, in our debates, liberty and freedom of speech be allowed to us.

" 3. That, as occasions shall require, your Majesty, upon our humble suit, and at such times as

your Majesty shall judge seasonable, will vouchsafe us access to your royal person.

"4. That all our proceedings may receive a favourable construction.

"That God, who hath brought you back to the throne of your fathers, and with you all our comforts, grant you a long and prosperous reign, and send you victory over all your enemies; and every good man's heart will say, Amen."

To this second address to his Majesty, the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's further directions, makes the following answer:—"Mr. Speaker, The King's Majesty hath heard and well weighed your short and eloquent oration, and, in the first place, much approves that you have introduced a shorter way of speaking on this occasion. His Majesty doth well accept of all those dutiful and affectionate expressions in which you have delivered your submission to his royal pleasure, and looks upon it as a good omen to his affairs, and as an evidence that the House of Commons have still the same at heart that have chosen such a mouth; the conjuncture of time and the King and kingdom's affairs require such a House of Commons, such a Speaker; for, with reverence to the Holy Scripture, upon this occasion, the King may say 'He that is not with me is against me,' for he that doth not now put his

hand and heart to support the King in the common cause of this kingdom, can hardly ever hope for such another opportunity, or find a time to make satisfaction for the omission of this.

"Next, I am commanded by his Majesty to answer your four petitions; whereof the first being the freedom of you and your servants, your persons and estates, without arrests or other disturbance, the King has graciously pleased to grant it as full as to any of your predecessors; the second for liberty and freedom of speech; the third for access to his royal person; and the fourth that your proceedings may receive a favourable construction, are all freely granted by his Majesty."

The above form or ceremony observed in the choosing and approving of a Speaker, was first used on the occasion of Sir Job Charlton's election to the chair of the House of Commons in the time of Charles the Second, since which period it has been invariably adopted.

The Speaker is elected, as already observed, not at the commencement of each session, but at the meeting of every new parliament. The title Speaker is given him because he alone has the right to speak to or address the King in the name and on behalf of the House. In the chair, he sits chiefly in the capacity of a moderator of the assembly, never

taking any part in the proceedings, or expressing any opinion on the subject-matter of discussion; all he does is to call on the different members, when the proper time arrives, to present the petitions or make the motions of which they have given notice, and to correct any member, who, either from ignorance of the rules and usages of the House, or in the heat of debate, is out of order. In calling on members to present petitions, addresses, &c., or make the motions of which they had previously given notice, the Speaker invariably takes their names in the order of time in which they had given their respective notices. His powers are very great. When he interposes his authority, no member must for a moment question it; if any member were to do so, he can order him at once into the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms. Hence it is that when he interferes, honourable members, in the midst of their angriest and most violent altercations, at once express their readiness to bow to the decision and submit to the pleasure of the Chair. During his absence no business can be transacted, nor any other question proposed than that of adjournment. When the House resolves itself into a Committee, he vacates the Chair, and takes his seat as a private member, when he has a right to speak to any question before the Committee, if he be so inclined, which, however, he very rarely is.

The office of Speaker of the House of Commons is one of the most arduous kind; the amount of labour he has to perform is almost incredible. Not only must he be always present during the sittings of the House, but he must at all hours of the day, and on all occasions during the session, be accessible to every member who chooses to wait on him. He must sign all the records of the votes and proceedings of the House, and of course carefully read them over lest there should be any thing wrong in them before affixing his signature; he must be always ready to instruct members as to matters of form; in short, nearly all the business part of the House is transacted by him and his clerks. Not even Saturday, when no business, except on very urgent occasions, is done in the house, was formerly a day of recreation to him; for every Saturday during the session, before the meeting of the present Parliament, he was obliged to hold what are called Parliamentary Levees, and give splendid dinners to the members, to which they were invited, in certain numbers at a time, in rotation. His Saturdays are still in one way or other occupied with the duties of his office. It is doubtful even, with the labours of the week before him, whether the "Sabbath shines a day of rest to him," though of course he is protected on that hallowed day from the per-

sonal intrusion of honourable members. His salary was formerly £5,000 a year, but in 1833 it was reduced to £4,000; in addition to his salary, however, he receives fees to the amount of £2,000 or £3,000, besides £1,000 of equipment money, and 2,000 ounces of plate, which are given him immediately on his election; he is also allowed two hogsheads of claret wine, and £100 for stationery every year: add to all this the circumstance of his having a handsome residence provided for him close to the House of Commons at the public expense, and the situation is worth at least £8,000 per annum. In point of rank the Speaker is next to the Peers of Great Britain, and he has the same precedence at the King's council table. He never votes on any question except the numbers be equal, when his casting vote decides the majority.

After the form of the Speaker asking and receiving those privileges on behalf of the members of the House of Commons, already referred to, has been gone through, the King makes his speech to both Houses. What the usual character of such speeches is, every one already knows. The speech being delivered, the King withdraws, and returns home, and the Commons retire to their own house, where, as in the Lords, an address in answer to his Majesty's most gracious speech, warmly ap-

proving of it, thanking him for it, and echoing its every sentiment, is moved and seconded by some of the most zealous supporters of the existing Government. An amendment to the address is generally proposed by some member of the Opposition, but is almost invariably lost by a large majority; many of the most strenuous opponents of the existing Administration deeming it not only a want of courtesy to Ministers to oppose the Address, but a manifest mark of disrespect to the King. At the meeting of the present Parliament, however, the Opposition conceived that, in the extraordinary circumstances in which the country and parties were placed, they were bound to sacrifice all considerations of a merely conventional kind, and endeavour to overthrow the Government of Sir Robert Peel the very first moment they could come in collision with it. Hence an amendment to the address to the King was proposed, and carried by a majority of seven, in one of the fullest Houses ever known, the number present being 611. I never knew a question which, during the discussion, excited greater interest than this, partly owing to the impression generally felt by both parties, that it would be decisive of the fate of the Government, and partly to the great uncertainty which existed as to the vote to which the House would come.

During the first two sessions of the Reformed Parliament, the House met at twelve o'clock for the purpose of presenting petitions and transacting business of minor importance. These sittings usually lasted till three, when the House again adjourned till five, at which time the most important business commenced. The morning sittings were generally but thinly attended, the number of members present scarcely ever exceeding fifty or sixty. It was soon found that the plan of having two sittings in one day would not answer, as it often happened that at the morning sitting, not a single member of Government was present to answer any question which honourable members might have to put to them. The arrangement was therefore abandoned, and the old practice resumed, on the meeting of the present Parliament. The usual hour for the Speaker's now taking the chair is half-past three. An hour and a-half is generally spent in the presentation of petitions, and the debates on motions begin a little after five.

Immediately on the Speaker taking the chair, the chaplain reads prayers, after which the Speaker counts the House, when, if there be not forty members present, he declares it to stand adjourned till the following day, unless this happen on a Friday, when it stands adjourned till Monday. The Speaker

always wears, during the sittings of the House, a large wig and gown, and so also do the clerks, but no member is allowed to appear in any other than his usual clothes, except on two occasions. One of these is the first day of a new Parliament, when the four members for the City of London wear scarlet gowns, and when they have the privilege of sitting together on the right of the chair. The other exception is in the case of the mover and seconder of the Address, in answer to the speech of his Majesty. These gentlemen must appear on that occasion, in full court dress.

The members who chance to be in the House before the entrance of the Speaker generally remain covered, but the moment he appears they take off their hats as a mark of respect to him. They may, however, and generally do, immediately after replace them on their heads. The members who afterwards enter the house, severally take off their hats and make a bow to the chair as they pass the bar. They do the same on leaving the House: and even in moving from one part of the floor to another, though it were only one or two yards, they always take off their hats in testimony of respect for the Speaker.

On ordinary motions no member is allowed to speak more than once, except it be in the way of

explanation; but the member who made the motion has, as in the case of counsel in the courts of law, the privilege of reply. It sometimes happens, however, that a member who has forgotten what he conceives some important point in his speech, or when something new occurs to him, rises a second time under the pretext of explanation, but he is, in such cases, generally put down with loud cries of "Spoke, spoke;"—meaning that he has spoken already. In Committees of the whole House, however, members are allowed to speak as often as they choose, the only limit set to their loquacity being that of the temper or impatience of the House. When the House is impatient for a division, or the member wishing to address it is unpopular, the most deafening uproar is purposely raised to cause him to desist by drowning his voice. I shall, in another part of the work, give some specimens of such interruptions.

One regulation of the House not generally known is, that any member making a motion cannot withdraw it without the consent of the gentleman who seconds it. Considerable inconvenience has sometimes arisen from this. To go no farther back than the middle of the last session, we have, in the case of Sir Samuel Whalley's motion on the Assessed Taxes, a striking instance. The motion having been

seconded by a Tory, that party pressed it to a division, though Sir Samuel expressed his most anxious wish to withdraw it. They saw that at that moment the Reformers who were opposed to the Window Tax, could not vote for its repeal without embarrassing Government, and therefore thought the opportunity an excellent one for placing the Reform members, especially the representatives of large towns, in a false position with their constituents. In this they succeeded in several instances to their heart's content. Colonel Evans perilled his seat for Westminster by voting on that occasion with the Government in opposition to the wishes of his constituents, and several other members have also prejudiced their personal interests by their votes on the same question.

No bill can be brought into the house without a formal request of leave for that purpose having been made and agreed to. In the case of public bills, this leave is asked and obtained by means of a motion to that effect; on such occasions a short discussion usually takes place on the objects of the bill, before such leave is granted. The debate on the principle of the bill is almost invariably deferred till the second reading. It is a very unusual thing to refuse an honourable member leave to bring in any bill, however unpopular its principle may be

with the House. It is conceived to be no more than common courtesy to the person asking leave to bring in the bill, to accord that leave to him, and also permission to read it a first time. If the measure be disliked, it is thrown out on the second reading. A striking instance, however, of the want of this usual courtesy occurred towards the end of last June, when Mr. Fox Maule, though a member of the Government, was refused leave to bring in a bill "for the better protection of tenants' crops in Scotland from the ravages committed on them by several kinds of game."

Before obtaining leave to bring in a bill the object of which is to obtain relief of a private nature, it is necessary to present a petition embodying the facts on which the proposed measure is founded. If these facts be not disputed, leave to bring in the bill is granted as a matter of course; but if the facts be questioned, the petition is referred to a Select Committee, who inquire into the conflicting statements, and report their opinion to the House. Leave is granted or refused according to the opinion expressed by the Committee.

When a bill is ready to be brought in, leave having been previously obtained for that purpose, the member who asked such permission stands at the bar of the house, and on his name being called

by the Speaker, says, "Bill, Sir." The Speaker then says, "Please to bring it up;" on which the member advances to the table of the house, and then handing it over to one of the Clerks, the title is read by him a first time as a matter of form, and the bill is ordered to stand for a second reading on any day which the member bringing it up may appoint for the purpose. When a bill has been read a second time, the question which the Speaker puts from the chair is, whether it shall be committed; that is, whether it shall be referred to the consideration of a Committee of the whole House, or to a Select Committee. If the bill be one of great and general importance, the usual practice is to refer it to a Committee of the whole House; if only of local or limited interest, it is referred to a Select Committee, any member naming, at his pleasure, the persons who shall compose that committee. The names of the Select Committee being read by the Clerk, the Committee are ordered to meet in the Speaker's chamber to take the matter into consideration; and when they have made up their minds, to report their decision to the House. The Committee accordingly meet, and after having chosen their chairman, either proceed clause by clause with the bill, or adjourn to some other time. When they have gone through the bill, the Chairman, as the representative of the Commit-

tee, makes his report at the side bar of the house, reading all the alterations which have been made in the bill. If new clauses have been added by the Committee, they are marked alphabetically, and, as in the case of the alterations, are read by the Chairman. They are then handed to the Clerk, who reads all the amendments and new clauses. The Speaker then puts the question, whether the amendments and additional clauses shall be read a second time. If this be agreed to, he reads them himself, or if not all agreed to, as many of them as have been approved of. He next puts the question, whether the bill so amended shall be engrossed—which means, fairly written out on parchment—and read a third time on some other day. If the third reading be agreed to, a day is appointed for the purpose, and when read a third time, the Speaker puts the question "that the bill do pass." If this also be agreed to, the words, "*Soit Baille aux Seigneurs*," are written on it by the Clerk; after which it is sent up to the Lords for their expected concurrence. If any new clauses be proposed and agreed to after a bill has been engrossed, they must be also written on parchment, like the bill, and are called riders.

In Committees of the whole House, the same

discussions often take place on bills as on important motions.

When a message is announced from the Lords to the Commons, the persons charged with which are usually some of the Masters in Chancery, the messengers must wait until the business before the House is finished before they deliver it, unless it happen that the Commons are engaged in a lengthened debate, when from considerations of courtesy the Speaker intimates that the House is ready to receive the message. The member who happens to be addressing the House at the time, immediately sits down till the message is delivered and the bearers of it have retired, after which he resumes his speech, and the proceedings go on as usual. In advancing to the chair, the messengers, accompanied by the Serjeant-at-Arms carrying the mace on his shoulder, make three profound reverences to the Speaker, when, after delivering the message, they withdraw backwards, making three low bows as when they approached the chair.

The mace always lies on the table while the Speaker is in the chair, with the exception of those occasions, few and far between, on which it is sent to Westminster Hall, the Court of Requests, or the several Committee-rooms to summon the members to attend the House; or when the House has

resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, on which occasions it is laid under the table.

I have already mentioned, that before proceeding to business, the Speaker must count and see that there are forty members present. It is not necessary, however, that this number should continue in the House in order to enable it to proceed, unless, indeed, any member, anxious to get rid of the motion before it, should move that it be counted. This the Speaker must do at the suggestion of any member, when, if it be found that there are not forty members present, the House is declared to stand adjourned till the following day. When Government are apprehensive of being embarrassed by any question which is to be brought forward, and which does not press for an immediate settlement, they hint to their leading friends, who communicate it to the other members, their wish that their supporters should be absent, in order that the House may be counted out, and by that means get rid of the question for the session. Lest, however, their opponents should muster so strongly as to continue a House during the discussion, and come to a decision adverse to the known views of Government, it is always arranged that a certain number of the supporters of Ministers shall lounge about the

House, carefully watching the progress of the question, and shaping their tactics accordingly. If they see that on a division Government would be in a minority, they immediately despatch messengers to all parts of the town for their friends, who hurry down to the House with an almost John Gilpin speed. In the mean time, some of those present prevent the House coming to a division before the arrival of the absentees, by speaking against time. A striking instance of this occurred in the beginning of last June, when Mr. Robinson, the member for Worcester, brought forward his motion respecting a Property-tax. Ministers and their friends had confidently expected that on that occasion the House would be counted out; and Mr. Ruthven and Mr. Brotherton, both celebrated for moving that the House be counted out or adjourned, were present for the purpose. It so happened, however, that though at three or four different times in the early part of the evening, there were only four or five more than the requisite number, they could not get their object accomplished. The only member of Government who chanced to be present during Mr. Robinson's speech, which lasted nearly two hours, was Mr. Spring Rice. About nine o'clock, however, when there was no longer any hope of counting out the House, and when it was uncertain

how soon the question might be pressed to a division, messengers were despatched to Brookes's, to the Westminster Club, at 24, George-street, and the other places of resort of the Liberal members; so that in the short space of half an hour the number of members in the house swelled from forty-eight or fifty, to about two hundred.

In a Committee of the whole House eight members are sufficient for the transaction of business. On such occasions, the members address themselves to the Chairman by name. When the Speaker is in the chair, he is always addressed by the term "Sir," and the members are supposed to direct their observations as exclusively to him as if he were the only individual present. Select Committees, and Committees of Privileges sit in rooms up-stairs.

In choosing a Committee to try the question of disputed elections, the selection is by ballot. There must be one hundred members present before the ballot can be proceeded with. Thirty-three are balloted for, and then each of the opposing parties are allowed to strike off eleven from the number, the remaining eleven forming the Committee. The members are sworn in the same way as a jury in a court of law, before proceeding to try the question. It is singular what a disproportion there sometimes

appears in the number of Liberal and Tory members whose names are drawn. In the Committee chosen in June last to try the validity of Mr. O'Dwyer's second election for Drogheda, it so happened that the whole thirty-three were decided Tories; but three or four of them not being present when their names were mentioned, others were chosen in their places who chanced to be Liberals. These, however, were of course struck off by the agent of the Tory petitioner against Mr. O'Dwyer's return, and consequently the latter gentleman had a purely Tory Committee, with Mr. Goulburn for chairman, to decide on his right to his seat. He was unseated.

I have mentioned in the previous chapter, that when a division takes place while the House is in a Committee of the whole House, the practice is to change sides, the "Ayes" taking the right and the "Noes" the left of the Speaker's chair. Two members called Tellers are then appointed to count the numbers on each side of the question. Some ludicrous mistakes occasionally occur from members not taking the proper side in time, in which case their votes are numbered among the adverse party. In the session of 1834, Colonel Evans happened to be fast asleep in one of the side galleries during a division in Committee on a most important question, the nature of which, however, I now forget, when

he was counted as voting with the Tories; nor were his slumbers disturbed, notwithstanding the noise and bustle consequent on the opposing parties changing sides, until the loud laughter and ironical cheers of the Tories wrested the gallant Colonel from the pleasant embraces of Morpheus. He looked the incarnation of foolishness on discovering the predicament and the company into which he had brought himself by a short, and as he, doubtless, under other circumstances, would have thought, a harmless nap.

When the House divides on any question without having been in Committee, the members go out of the house, as mentioned in the first chapter, to the lobby; strangers having been previously ordered to withdraw from the latter place. If the question on which the House is about to divide be whether any bill, petition, &c. is to be brought in, the "Ayes," or approvers of the motion, go out; but if the division is to be on any matter which the House was before possessed of, the "Noes," or opponents of the motion go out. The Speaker appoints four Tellers, two of whom are for and two against the motion, to take the respective numbers on every division. The Tellers first count those who remain in the house, and then placing themselves in the passage between the bar and the door, count those

who were without as they re-enter. The two Tellers who have the majority, then take the right hand, and the other two the left, when they advance abreast towards the Speaker, making three bows or inclinations of the head as a testimony of their respect for him. When they reach the table they deliver the numbers written on a small piece of paper, saying: "The Ayes that went out are so many, the Noes who remained are so many," or otherwise as the case may happen. The numbers are repeated by the Speaker, who also declares the majority, and whether for or against the motion.

When the House divides, the gallery is cleared of strangers, the Speaker looking up to the gallery, and saying at the full stretch of his voice, "Strangers must withdraw." The officers repeat the Speaker's orders. and in about half a minute the place is empty. The object of excluding strangers when a division takes place, is to prevent members being influenced when giving their votes, by their presence. The arrangement or regulation, however, is a very unnecessary one, as on every important question the names of the members who voted, and the way in which they voted, are given in the newspapers of the following day.

Though strangers are admitted into the gallery during the debates, it is only by sufferance. There

is a standing order of the House against the presence of any other than the members; and a member has only to say to the Speaker, "I think I see strangers in the gallery," which is the phraseology employed in such a case, to have it cleared at once, the Speaker being bound to order strangers to withdraw that moment. When, in the session of 1833, Mr. O'Connell had his memorable quarrel with the reporters, and they refused to report his speeches, he determined on preventing the publication of any other member's speeches, or any of the proceedings, by enforcing the regulations of the House for the exclusion of the public. He first looked up to the gallery, and then addressing the Speaker in the terms above quoted, the latter immediately ordered strangers to withdraw. The members then proceeded to deliberate and debate with closed doors; but the absence of strangers and reporters had a most paralysing effect on their eloquence. There was no animation in their manner—scarcely any attempt at that wit and sarcasm at each other's expense so often made on other occasions. Their speeches were dull in the highest degree, and for the first time within my recollection they kept their word when, on commencing their orations, they promised not to trespass at any length on the patience of the House. Their speeches had certainly the merit of

being short: I cannot say they were sweet. The secret of all this was, they knew their eloquence would not grace the newspapers of the following morning. The empty gallery gave the House a most melancholy appearance inside, and outside it was no better. A stray person was here and there to be seen in the stairs or passages leading to the house, which only served to make the general dulness of the place more striking. The lobby, which used to be so crowded, and to be the scene of so much bustle and animation, was altogether deserted. The door-keeper's office was a sinecure; there were no intruders to keep out of the house. He was a *solitaire;* but for the circumstance of a member at unusually long intervals making his exit and his entrance, he must have fancied himself a second Alexander Selkirk, the sole inhabitant of some desolate place.

The law which excludes strangers from the gallery, necessarily implies the illegality of publishing the proceedings of the House. But not only is such publication prohibited by implication, there is an express order of the House to that effect. The reports therefore of the speeches of members, and of the proceedings of the House, are only by sufferance, like the admission of strangers to the gallery; and every journal in the kingdom which gives any

such report is liable to be prosecuted, and punished, for a violation of the rules and a contempt of the authority of the House. The order, however, has been a dead letter in this respect, ever since newspapers began the practice of reporting the proceedings of Parliament.

It is one of the rules of the House, that no motion on any important question be brought forward without the member who is to submit it, having given due notice of such intention. The more important the question to which the motion refers, it is usual to give the longer notice. When the day arrives, the name of the member who gave notice of the motion is called by the Speaker, in the order of time in which it appears on the order-book, and if he do not answer when thus called on, the motion is of necessity indefinitely postponed. But a member may postpone his motion to any future day he pleases, by giving notice to the House to that effect. I have often known a motion to be postponed six or seven different times in the course of one session, owing to the altered circumstances of parties between the time of giving the notice and the day fixed for bringing it forward, and the necessity, at the same time, of not altogether in appearance dropping the subject lest the honourable member should thereby compromise

his interests with his constituents. The notice of a motion for a revision of the Pension List, given by Mr. Harvey on the meeting of the present Parliament, and postponed time after time, till at last the session ended without its being brought forward at all, is a case in point. Mr. Harvey gave notice of the motion when the Tories were in power, and when they were displaced by his own party, he was naturally anxious not to embarrass the latter by bringing it forward.

If a member make a motion and lose it, on any given subject, the same motion cannot be again made during the session, either by the member himself or by any other in the house; but the spirit of this regulation is sometimes evaded by honourable members bringing forward a motion substantially the same but differently framed. This, however, is not often done, as it is generally considered a proof of a factious opposition to the existing Government, if not of want of respect to the House itself.

It is a fact not generally known, that any person chosen as member by any constituency, though not only without his own consent, but contrary to his most positively expressed wishes, is bound by the laws of the House, which in such cases are the law of the land, to serve in Parliament, unless he is

able to satisfy the House that he is disqualified for the duties of such a situation. If the House do not concur in the grounds on which he pleads for exemption from the office of legislator, and he notwithstanding be not present when his name is called over, he is at once ordered into the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, which subjects him to an expense of eight or ten guineas per day. From such custody the party is usually released on the motion of some friend, on making the necessary concessions, and paying the usual fees. On Wednesday, March the 17th 1831, Lord F. L. Gower, and Messrs. Maberley and S. L. Stephens, were ordered into custody for not answering to their names when called. Lord F. L. Gower, being a knight of the shire, had to pay £10. 10*s*. before he was discharged, and the others, being only burgesses, paid £8. 8*s*. each.

A member, when duly elected, is not only compelled to serve in Parliament, but he cannot at any future period either resign his seat or be expelled from the house except by some legal disqualification. In order, therefore, to meet the views of those members who may wish to resign their seats, it has been the practice, ever since the year 1750, for such members to accept the office of Steward of the Chiltern Hundreds, which being an appointment

under the Crown, their seats are of necessity vacated. The office, however, is a merely nominal one. The stewards who accept it desire neither honour nor emolument from it, the only salary attached to the appointment being twenty shillings a-year. The Chiltern Hundreds are districts in Buckinghamshire, belonging to the Crown. The appointment to the office of Steward of these Hundreds is vested in the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, as a matter of course, grants it to every member who applies for it.

Any member may at any time, and in the midst of any discussion, move the adjournment of the House. It is true that the mere moving of the adjournment does not compel the House to adjourn; but if the member so moving it persevere in his motion, he is sure to succeed. He can force the House to divide on the question whether it shall adjourn or not, and the moment the division is over he can again, if carried against him, move it and compel a division as often as he pleases, thus completely putting an end to the transaction of any business. The celebrated Mr. Sheridan, on one occasion, moved the adjournment of the House nineteen successive times, and had nineteen divisions on the subject, the one following the other as fast as they could be taken. The House, seeing

it was only wasting time to resist the adjournment any longer, at last reluctantly yielded. Mr. Sheridan's object was to prevent the House coming to some important resolution, the precise nature of which I do not at this moment recollect, respecting the war at that time going on with France, until the country should be apprized of it. He succeeded in his object.

CHAPTER III.

MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.

When a motion on any important question is fixed for a particular night, and it is understood that the member bringing it forward is anxious to proceed with it, honourable members who had other notices of less important motions on the order book, generally give way in his favour. On such occasions the house, though usually not containing a hundred members, and often not half that number, when the Speaker takes the chair, soon gets filled, and generally continues crowded till the debate is finished, even though it should be adjourned for three or four successive nights. The time at which the house is usually thinnest is from eight to ten o'clock, when many members preferring the more solid qualities of a good dinner to "the feast of reason and the flow of soul," vacate their seats in Westminster that they may fill one at a well-furnished table in their own houses, or in that of some friend. Hence it very rarely happens that any of the best speakers address the House

before ten o'clock,—not wishing, of course, to waste their eloquence on comparatively empty benches. A succession of fourth or fifth-rate orators will almost invariably be found "on their legs" from the meeting of the House until that hour. They know that after ten o'clock there is not the remotest chance of their getting an opportunity of delivering their sentiments; and hence, when one has finished his speech, they often rise in shoals of six or seven at once, each hoping he will be the fortunate person in catching the Speaker's eye. The other members in such a case shout the names of the honourable gentlemen who have risen and whom they are severally anxious to see "in possession of the House;" but the word of the Speaker settles the question as to which of the candidates for senatorial fame is to proceed. He mentions aloud the name of the orator who first caught his eye, and the others immediately resume their seats, while he commences his speech.

The usual practice of the Speaker during any important debate is to "fix his eye" on a member from each side of the house, or on the opposite sides of the question, alternately; so that from the beginning of any discussion till the end, however many nights it may last, every successive speaker either answers, or is supposed to rise to answer, the

speaker who immediately preceded him. Of course, in such cases, he may also answer those honourable gentlemen on the adverse side who may have spoken at any previous stage of the debate, and who he thinks has not been fully or triumphantly answered by those of his own party who preceded him. When the Speaker observes signs of impatience for a division to be general in the house, he makes it his invariable practice to single out from those members who simultaneously rise when the last speaker has sat down, the leading men on each side of the question. This brings the debate to a close, because the House would inevitably clamour down any person who would have the temerity to attempt to address it after the most influential members on both sides of the question had spoken. Were not this plan adopted, and were the Speaker to go on calling on the "little men," as they are termed, to proceed in their harangues, as they successively arise, discussions would often extend to as many weeks as they do days. Had the Speaker allowed every "minor member" who on the debate, last session, on the Irish Church Appropriation Bill endeavoured to "catch his eye," instead of lasting only four days it would have been protracted for at least as many weeks.

After ten o'clock, the members who have been to

dinner are to be seen trooping into the house, and by eleven they are generally all returned, as after that hour it is uncertain, when there has been a protracted discussion, how soon a division may take place. However much improved otherwise by a good dinner and its accompaniments, it is hardly necessary to say that honourable members, on their return to the house, are not always in a better condition for the discharge of their legislative duties. However, there is little difficulty in uttering either of the monosyllables "Aye" or "No," and as their minds are, in almost every instance, made up beforehand as to which of the two words they will pronounce when it is their turn to vote, they contrive to acquit themselves tolerably well.

The practice of so many members leaving the house to go to dinner between seven and eight o'clock and generally not returning before ten, endangered the existence, on one occasion, of the Melbourne Ministry, soon after its re-accession to office. The measure before the House was one of great importance, and about nine o'clock there were only about two hundred and fifty members present, the great majority of whom were Tories. The latter saw the preponderance of their numbers, and accordingly shouted out "Divide, divide!" They also endeavoured, though without effect, to put

down by clamour those members from the Ministerial side of the House who rose to prolong the discussion until their friends should return. The debate was kept up till half-past twelve, when the division took place. The number of members then present was upwards of six hundred, and the majority in favour of Ministers exceeded thirty.

The house has a very different appearance at different times. When there is no interesting question before it, its empty seats give it a cheerless aspect: and the extent to which this operates both on speakers and listeners is incredible. It is next to impossible, in such a case, to make a lively or eloquent speech, or even suppose it were both lively and eloquent, it always fails to produce an impression. Though the voting away of the public money, when the miscellaneous estimates are under consideration, is unquestionably one of the most important and responsible duties which devolve on a British legislator, it so happens that when this is being done, there is invariably a less number of members present than on any other occasion. The greatest number I have known in the house when the public money was in the act or being voted away, scarcely ever exceeded eighty or ninety, while from fifty to sixty is the usual number. On such occasions, especially after twelve o'clock, you see

nothing but languor in the faces and manner of those honourable members who continue to sit in an upright position; while a considerable portion of them are either leaning with their heads on the benches, or stretched out at full length with their eyes, like those of Shakspeare's shipboy, "sealed up" by sleep, "Nature's soft nurse." The strangers in the gallery who chance to be there for the first time, are always amazed beyond measure at seeing any portion of their representatives thus enjoying their repose while matters of the deepest importance are being transacted in the house. They are surprised to see those who were so bustling and animated on the hustings, and so prodigal of pledges to oppose every improper grant of the public money, not only dull and drowsy in the house, but "sleeping it out" while millions are voted away for all sorts of objects, good, bad, and indifferent. Strangers do not, of course, return home with any very exalted opinion either of the integrity or dignity of the legislators themselves, or of the qualities necessary to constitute a so-called representative of the people.* But when, as already stated, a question of commanding interest is to be discussed, the

* It is a fact which a sense of impartiality compels me to state, that the most flaming patriots are generally those who most frequently neglect their duty on these occasions.

house is full soon after the Speaker takes the chair, and continues so, except from eight to ten o'clock, till it either divides or adjourns. There are no sleepers or slumberers then. In the old house there was not sitting room, far less room to recline in a horizontal position; in the present house, including the galleries, there are seats enough, but not more. When the house is full it has a very cheerful appearance, and greatly adds to the intrinsic interest of the proceedings. On such occasions, you will sometimes see fifty or sixty members standing at the bar at the same time. I have often seen it so blocked up that it was with the greatest difficulty a member could make his way either in or out. When this is the case, or when there is a great noise from hon. members speaking and laughing together, the Speaker and other members in different parts of the house, call out "Order at the bar!"—"Bar! bar! bar!"

There is nothing which more forcibly strikes a stranger who is in the house for the first time, than the noise and levity which almost invariably prevail in the House, except when some popular or talented member is addressing it. At these times, the Speaker's voice is drowned amidst the talking and laughing which are going on in all parts of the house. I have known members speak for half

an hour at the time, without one single sentiment they uttered being known to one out of ten in the house. The house on such occasions is a scene of perfect confusion, and the noise is sometimes so great as to be heard distinctly in the street outside, a distance of forty or fifty yards, and this, too, though the doors are all shut.

I recollect, when I first entered the house, being struck with the great number of bald-headed members. The number is greater in this Parliament than in any previous one within my remembrance. I have sometimes, from curiosity, counted the number of bald heads in the house at once, and have found them to be nearly a third of all present. Taking the whole six hundred and fifty-eight, I should think that perhaps a fourth part are more or less bald-headed.

The dress of hon. members varies with the season. In the spring months, the prevailing colour is black from head to foot; but in the summer season the great majority wear light-coloured inexpressibles and waistcoats. The last two sessions were remarkable for the number of white hats in the house. Considerably more than a majority of the members, I am sure, wore white hats last session.

The number of red heads in the house is also remarkable. I should think they are hardly less

numerous than the bald heads. When I come to advert to individual members of distinction, it cannot fail to strike the reader how many of them are red-headed.

I have spoken of the noise and confusion that often prevail in the house when a fourth or fifth-rate speaker is addressing it. When a popular member belonging to either party is on his legs, he, again, is sure, especially if speaking on a party question, to be applauded to the echo by those who hold the same principles as himself. For example, Sir Robert Peel may at all times rely on the vociferous applause of the Tories; Lord John Russell on that of the Whigs; and Mr. O'Connell on that of the Radical or Movement party. In applauding their respective favourites, hon. members give full play to their lungs. Their cheers are sometimes deafening in the house, and are often distinctly heard at a great distance from it. In the new houses, which are near each other, the cheers given in the Commons often disturb the more grave deliberations of the Lords. But it is on an important division that the Stentorian capabilities of the Commons are heard to most advantage. I have often heard the triumphant party give such rounds of applause on the Speaker's announcing the numbers, as literally made the ears of honourable members

ring again. When Sir Robert Peel was last session defeated on the Church Appropriation question, such was the exultation of the Liberal party, that some of them, not content with hurraing at the top of their voice, actually took off their hats and whirled them in the air.

Of other kinds of sounds which are often to be heard in the house, I shall have occasion to say something in the following chapter.

There are several naval members in the house, who, though they have as large an allowance of good judgment—in some instances more—as those members who have spent all their days in polished society,—yet have lost much of their earlier literary acquirements. There is more than one of these—and there are several members who have chiefly spent their time in rural retirement in the same predicament—who have forgotten the first rudiments of their orthography. I could mention several amusing instances of such blunders committed by M. P.s; but let one suffice. A worthy Welch baronet, distinguished for his maritime exploits, was lately asked by one of his constituents who chanced to be in town at the time, for an order of admission into the house. With his characteristic disposition to oblige, Sir ——— immediately complied with the request, and wrote an order in the

usual terms, and addressed it thus—"To the Door Ceeper of the House of Commons." The person for whom it was intended, discovered the error in the spelling after he had gone ten or twelve yards from the worthy baronet, and turning back and running up to him said, "Oh, Sir ——— there is a mistake in the word "keeper;" you have spelt it with a *c* instead of a *k*." "A mistake!" responded the baronet, taking the order into his hand, "Not a bit of a mistake is there in it, both ways are right—quite right, my friend;" at the same time returning the order uncorrected to his constituent.

Time after time have I been struck with the extraordinary instances of a retentive memory, afforded by the ease and accuracy with which members repeat long speeches which they had previously learned by heart; but the most striking instance of this kind I ever witnessed—and I question if there be a parallel to it in the history of Parliamentary debates—was in the case of Mr. R. Tennant, the member for Belfast. This gentleman, on the occasion of Mr. O'Connell's motion for a repeal of the Union in 1834, actually repeated a speech against the measure, without the least hesitation in a single instance, or the slightest mistake,—which occupied him three hours and a-half

in the delivery ; and—which renders the effort still more surprising—it was a speech which was full of minute calculations and figures. He mentioned the circumstance to some of his friends at the time, and was so confident of the trust-worthiness of his memory, that he sent the manuscript of his speech to the newspapers before he delivered it.

Those unacquainted with the secrets of the prison-house, would naturally infer that those members of opposite politics whom they see night after night so heartily abusing each other, were not on friendly terms together. There are some cases in which the conclusion would be just: in the great majority it would not. Before and after the dissolution of Sir Robert Peel's Government, the Right Honourable Baronet and Lord John Russell were often seen in most friendly conversation together. Some weeks after the meeting of the present Parliament, Mr. Hughes Hughes, the member for Oxford, made a most violent attack on Mr. O'Connell, pointedly referring, among other things, to his ordering death's-heads and cross-bones to be painted over the doors of those electors who would not vote for his nominee in the county of Cork. Mr. O'Connell repelled the attack with equal violence, and retorted, as he did to Mr. Shaw, the

member for the University of Dublin, on another occasion, that Mr. Hughes's head was a calf's-head. Some nights afterwards both gentlemen were seen walking arm-in-arm up Parliament-street, on their way home from the house.

CHAPTER IV.

SCENES IN THE HOUSE.

THERE are two kinds of scenes which occasionally take place in the house. The one chiefly consists in the personal altercations and mutual criminations which now and then occur between two particular members, who are almost invariably of opposite politics. The other description of scenes is of a more general nature, the performers being a large proportion of the members present. These latter scenes generally have their origin in the indisposition of the House to hear any further speeches on a particular question, except from some of the leading members. As a fair specimen of the first kind of scenes I give the following, because it is short, and also because it is of late occurrence. It took place in July last, when the House was in a Committee of Ways and Means. The immediate circumstance which gave rise to it, if I remember rightly, was a proposed grant of a certain sum to assist in defraying the expenses of the education of

Roman Catholics in Maynooth College. Mr. Shaw, the member for the University of Dublin, contended, in opposing the grant, that the Established Church, and it alone, ought to be supported by the State. When he had concluded his speech,

Mr. O'Connell rose and said, "The honourable member (Mr. Shaw) has expressed his opinions in a manner which can do no good service to his cause. There was a determination about him amounting almost to a spiritual ferocity. He seems to think that the Protestant religion consists of pounds, shillings, and pence."

Mr. Shaw (with great vehemence).—"I deny that I said that the Protestant religion consists of pounds, shillings, and pence. But the Church establishment of any country must be supported by money, and that Church which the State endowed with money became the Established Church. In such a situation stands the Church which the honourable and learned member for Dublin has sworn not to subvert, and which he now attempts to subvert."

Loud cries of "Order! order!" now proceeded from the Ministerial side of the House. The Irish members shouted the words with one voice.

Mr. O'Connell (with the greatest warmth and violence of gesture).—"I call the honourable Re-

corder to order. He has made use of a false assertion."

Here Mr. O'Connell's voice was drowned amidst the deafening cries of "Order!" which proceeded from all parts of the Opposition side of the house. A number of honourable members rose at once, and accompanied the words with a corresponding violence of gesture. It is impossible to describe the confusion of the scene.

Mr. O'Connell resumed. — "The honourable member has accused me of having sworn one thing and done another. It is quite out of order for a member to utter falsehoods."

Here the Opposition, almost in a body, shouted "Order! order!" at the full stretch of their voice, mingled with cries of "Chair, chair!" It was some time before any measure of order was restored. When the uproar had somewhat abated,

Mr. Finn said, "I pronounce the expression which has been uttered by the learned member for the Dublin University to be an atrocious calumny." The latter terms were pronounced with an emphasis, and were accompanied with a vehemence of gesture, that defy description.

The confusion and uproar which now ensued owing to the cries of "Chair, chair!" and "Order, order!" which burst from the Opposition side of the

house, with the rising of many of the members from their seats, exceeded any thing which can be imagined. In vain did Mr. Bernal endeavour, as Chairman of the Committee, to restore order. His voice was lost amidst the deafening noise which prevailed. Some degree of quiet being at length restored,

Mr. Shaw rose, and with great warmth said, "The honourable member for Dublin knows that when he used the word falsehood——"

Here Mr. Shaw's voice was again drowned amidst renewed uproar and confusion, caused by the rising of seven or eight of the Irish members at once, each of them at the same time speaking in the loudest and most indignant tones. It would have been impossible to hear a single word either of them said, owing to so many persons speaking and shouting at the same instant; but that difficulty was greatly increased by the shouts of "Chair, Chair!" which burst from the Opposition side of the house.

When the uproar had again partially subsided Mr. Bernal said, in a most vehement and impassioned manner, "If I cannot restore and preserve order, I must dissolve the Committee at once. It is impossible for me to maintain order, when seven or eight honourable members all get up and speak at once."

The determined manner and sharp rebuke of Mr. Bernal had, to a very great extent, the desired effect; when

Mr. Shaw, still labouring under great excitement, and speaking with much warmth of manner, said: "The honourable member (Mr. O'Connell) has charged me with being actuated by a spiritual ferocity; but my ferocity is not of that description which takes for its symbol a death's-head and cross-bones." (Tremendous cheers from the Opposition, with uproar from the Irish members on the Ministerial side of the house.)

Mr. O'Connell (addressing himself to Mr. Shaw personally, and not to the Chairman)—"Your's is a calf's-head and jaw-bones." (Deafening cheers from the Ministerial side of the house, mingled with cries of "Order, Order!" "Chair, Chair!" from the Opposition.)

Mr. Bernal again interposed his authority as Chairman, when having once more restored order, the business of the Committee proceeded without any further material interruption.

I come now to what are called general scenes. One of the richest of this kind which I have ever seen, occurred on the 17th of July last. The question before the house, was that the Municipal Corporations Bill be re-committed. Several of the

leading members having delivered their sentiments on the subject, Mr. Hughes Hughes, the member for Oxford, rose to address the House. This gentleman, for what reason I am at a loss to guess, generally meets with a very unfavourable reception: on this occasion it exceeded any thing I ever before witnessed. The moment he pronounced the word "Sir," addressing himself of course to the Speaker, he was assailed with the most tremendous uproar and confusion. Such a variety of sounds, and so discordant, hardly ever before greeted mortal ear. Mr. Hughes's voice was at once drowned amidst the babel of sounds. Lord Brougham (then Mr. Brougham) once compared the House to a menagerie; the application of the term would certainly have been most appropriate in this case. Had a blind person been that night conducted into the house, and not told what the place was, he would assuredly have supposed that he was in some zoological establishment. The *Morning Post* of the following day thus described the scene:—"The most confused sounds, mysteriously blended, issued from all corners of the house. One honourable member near the bar repeatedly called out "Read" (to the member endeavouring to address the House) in an exceedingly bass and hoarse sound of voice. At repeated intervals a sort of drone-like humming,

having almost the sound of a distant hand-organ or bagpipes, issued from the back benches:—coughing, sneezing, and ingeniously extended yawning, blended with the other sounds, and produced a *tout-ensemble* which we have never heard excelled in the house. A single voice from the ministerial benches imitated very accurately the yelp of a kennelled hound." The most graphic description would fall short of the scene itself. At the farthest corner of the house, on the ministerial side, there was a constant movement of the persons as well as the tongues of honourable members. At one time you would have thought, from the rapidity with which they rose up and sat down again in their seats, that they had been trying some gymnastic experiments. The best performers, in another sense, were also chiefly in that part of the house. One honourable member imitated the crowing of a cock so admirably, that you could not have distinguished it from the performance of a real chanticleer. Not far from the same spot issued sounds marvellously resembling the bleating of a sheep,—blended occasionally with an admirable imitation of the braying of an ass by an honourable member a few yards distant. Then there were coughing, yawning, and other vocal performances in infinite variety, and in most discordant chorus. There were yelpings

worthy of any canine animal, and excellent imitations of the sounds of sundry instruments not mentioned by the *Morning Post*. The deafening uproar was completed by the cries of "Chair, chair! "Order, order!" groans, laughter, &c. which proceeded from all parts of the house. A more undeliberative assembly was never seen, than that which constituted the House of Commons at this moment. One fact will give as good an idea of the scene as the most lengthened description. Mr. Poulter, the member for Shaftesbury, succeeded Mr. Hughes, who had been obliged to sit down; and though the former, whose voice is one of the best in the house, exerted himself for at least ten minutes to make himself audible, there was not, as far as I was able to ascertain, one member who could make out a complete sentence of what he said. Very few heard even a single word. Mr. Hardy made the attempt after Mr Poulter, but with no better success. He at once saw it would be hopeless; and accordingly sat down. Other members who wished to deliver their sentiments, shrunk from even an effort to procure a hearing. The House had determined on a division; and a division on the question before it accordingly took place immediately, which had the effect of restoring order.

As I was not present when the following scene occurred, I quote it from the *Morning Chronicle* of the day after it occurred, which was in June 1834. The question before the House was the admission of Dissenters to the Universities:—

"Mr. G. W. Wood rose to reply. (The laughing, jeering, shouting, and coughing, were such as we never before witnessed.) The hon. gentleman said, it had been declared that the Bill, in its present stage was essentially different from what it was when he had the honour to introduce it to the house. (At this moment two hon. members 'o'er all the ills of life victorious,' suddenly entered from the smoking-room into the opposition gallery, and stretching themselves at full-length on the seats, secure from the observation of the Speaker, commenced a row of the most discreditable character.) This he denied ('I say, can't you crow?' Laughter and uproar)—the provisions had not been altered ('Hear him, how he reads!')—the enactments were in every respect unaltered (Loud cheering, followed by bursts of laughter). The question was ('Read it—read it!' and great uproar)—the question was ('Just so, read it')—the question was (great cheering and laughter)—whether the universities should be opened to all, or be for ever under the control of mere monopolists. ('Where's the

man what crows?' Laughter and cries of 'Order!' from the Speaker.) Public opinion—('Order!' and great uproar, during which the Speaker, evidently excited, was loudly calling for order.) The scene here was indescribable."

The preceding quotation will give some idea of the scenes occasionally to be witnessed in the House of Commons. The general scenes have usually their origin in the impatience of honourable members to get away from the house for the night, but who dare not venture to leave before the division, lest the non-appearance of their names in the lists of the majority and minority the following morning, should lead to some unpleasant questions from their respective constituents, if not to a requisition to resign their seats.

I shall allude to only one more scene of this kind. It occurred towards the close of last Session. An honourable member, whose name I suppress, rose, amidst the most tremendous uproar, to address the House. He spoke, and was received, as nearly as the confusion enabled me to judge, as follows:—"I rise, Sir, (Ironical cheers, mingled with all sorts of zoological sounds), I rise, Sir, for the purpose of stating that I have—('Oh! oh!' 'Bah!' and sounds resembling the bleating of a sheep, mingled with loud laughter). Hon. gentlemen

may endeavour to put me down by their unmannerly interruptions, but I have a duty to perform to my con——(Ironical cheers, loud coughing, sneezing, and yawning extended to an incredible length, followed by bursts of laughter). I say, Sir, I have constituents who on this occasion expect that I—— (Cries of 'Should sit down,' and shouts of laughter). They expect, Sir, that on a question of such importance ('O-o-a-a-u-' and loud laughter, followed by cries of 'Order ! order !' from the Speaker.) I tell honourable gentlemen who choose to conduct themselves in such a way, that I am not to be put down by ——(Groans, coughs, sneezings, hems, and various animal sounds, some of which closely imitated the yelping of a dog, and the squeaking of a pig, interspersed with peals of laughter). I appeal——('Cock-e-leeri-o-co !' The imitation, in this case, of the crowing of a cock was so remarkably good, that not even the most staid and orderly members in the house could preserve their gravity. The laughter which followed drowned the Speaker's cries of 'Order ! order !') I say, Sir, this is most unbecoming conduct on the part of an assembly calling itself de——('Bow-wow-wow,' and bursts of laughter). Sir, may I ask, have honourable gentlemen who can——('Mew-mew', and renewed laughter). Sir, I claim the protection of the Chair. (The

Speaker here again rose and called out ‘ Order ! order !’ in a loud and angry tone, on which the uproar in some measure subsided.) If honourable gentlemen will only allow me to make one observation, I will not trespass further on their attention, but sit down at once. (This was followed by the most tremendous cheering in earnest.) I only beg to say, Sir, that I think this is a most dangerous and unconstitutional measure, and will therefore vote against it.” The honourable gentleman then resumed his seat amidst deafening applause.

CHAPTER V.

THE LATE AND PRESENT SPEAKERS—SIR CHARLES MANNERS SUTTON AND MR. JAMES ABERCROMBY.

In presenting the reader with sketches of the leading members of all parties in the House, it will be expected that I begin with the late and present Speakers. The office of Speaker is one of such great importance, and is regarded with so much respect by the members, however differing from him in politics,—as to entitle Sir Charles Manners Sutton and Mr. Abercromby to a priority of notice.

Sir Charles Manners Sutton filled the office of Speaker for eighteen years, having been chosen in 1817 in the room of the Right Honourable Charles Abbott, who then resigned from ill health. Sir Charles presided during five successive Parliaments. He was a great favourite with men of all parties in the House; indeed he could not have been otherwise, for a man of more conciliating, bland, and gentlemanly manners never crossed the threshold of St. Stephen's. He was at all times accessible, and to every mem-

ber; the most inveterate and most unpopular Radical, though he himself was one of the most decided Tories in the House, was treated by him in the house, at his public dinners, and in the private interviews he was obliged frequently to have with men of all parties,—with the same courtesy and apparent respect as the most influential of his own party. He never suffered his political prejudices, strong as they were, to interfere with the amenities of gentlemanly intercourse. The perfect gentleman was visible in every thing he said and did; nay, it was visible in his very person, whether you saw him walking the streets, or filling the chair in the House of Commons. There was a mildness and good-nature in his features, which could not fail to strike a stranger the moment he saw him, and which was certain of prepossessing every one in his favour. With these softer and more amiable features, there were blended a dignity and energy of character, which invariably insured the respect of the members. No man knew better how to unite firmness and decision with the greatest urbanity of manner, in reproving a member who had violated the rules of the House, or the usages which one gentleman ought to observe towards another.

He possessed great presence of mind. I have

seen him time after time conduct himself, in scenes of the greatest confusion, and in cases of great difficulty, with as much coolness, self possession, and judgment, as if he had been quietly deliberating on some point appertaining to the orders and usages of the House, in his own study. I do not recollect to have seen him so much disconcerted as on one occasion, when having, on a division, said he thought the "Ayes" had it,—Mr. Halcomb, the late member for Dover, got up and said with some tartness, though no one but himself had voted against the measure, "*I* say, sir, the '*Noes*' have it." Sir Charles Manners Sutton did look confounded for a moment, and one loud shout of "Oh, oh!" burst simultaneously from all parts of the house. Sir Charles, on recovering himself, ordered a division; as the Speaker must always do if but one member demands it, when there appeared—how many "Noes" does the reader think? Just one, and that one was the property of Mr. Halcomb himself. The late Duke of Somerset, towards the close of the last century, divided the House of Lords on the question of this country going to war with France, when there only appearing himself in opposition to the motion, he caused a medal to be struck to the memory of "The Glorious Minority of One." Whether Mr. Halcomb took a similar

method of perpetuating the remembrance of his "Glorious Minority," I have not the means of knowing.

Sir Charles Manners Sutton was intimately conversant with the usages, laws, and forms of the House. This was apparent soon after his appointment to the office; for immediately on getting into the chair he applied himself with the greatest assiduity and attention to the subject, until he made himself quite master of it. In no case of difficulty that ever occurred while I was present, did I ever see him at the least loss as to how it should be dealt with.

His voice was, without exception, the most sonorous, powerful, and melodious I ever heard. Its compass was surprising, when he called out, as he had too often occasion to do, "Order, order!" The sounds, even when he manifestly gave no play to his lungs, but spoke with as little effort as if he had been speaking in a whisper, fell on your ear,—it mattered not in what part of the house you were at the time,—with a loudness and depth of intonation which at once startled and delighted you. If very great noise and confusion prevailed in the house at the time, and he consequently uttered the words "Order, order!" with some energy, you would have supposed you heard the voice of a Boanerges.

Sir Charles Manners Sutton generally received credit for great impartiality. The Liberals, however, maintain that although he was very impartial in allowing an equal number of speakers to address the House on each side of a question, he very often, when several speakers on the Liberal side rose at once to reply to a Tory speech of ability, "fixed his eye" on the least talented; and that on the other hand, he as frequently, when several Tories rose at once to reply to a speech of talent from a Liberal member, selected the ablest of the number.

Sir Charles hardly ever availed himself of his privilege of speaking in committee. The only instance in which he did so, that I can remember at this moment, was one morning in the session of 1834, at four o'clock, when some question affecting the privileges of the University of Cambridge, of which he was at the time the representative, was under discussion. His speech lasted about ten or fifteen minutes. It did not indicate a vigorous or comprehensive mind, but it was, in the delivery, as fine a specimen of correct elocution as one could wish to hear. His style was fluent but verbose. He excelled in making high-sounding sentences, as his speech on the election of Mr. Abercromby proved.

The late Speaker is tall and robust in person.

His hair is black, and his complexion very dark. But for a strong squint in one of his eyes, his countenance would be remarkable for its handsomeness; as it is, it is pleasant. His features are small and regular. His age is fifty-five. He appears to be in excellent health.

Of Mr. JAMES ABERCROMBY, the present Speaker, my notice will necessarily be short, as his occupation of the Chair has yet been but of little more than six months' duration. His voice is pleasant and clear, but not strong. His manner is dignified and solemn, mingled with urbanity. His articulation is slow and distinct. Like his predecessor, he is perfectly cool and calm in the midst of the scenes of uproar which occur in the house. He is of a kindly disposition. Indeed, his extreme good nature has sometimes rendered him indulgent to a fault, to members who have transgressed the bounds of parliamentary order and courtesy. He possesses considerable talents, and had much influence in the House, especially with his own party, before his election to the Chair. He is a man of great straightforwardness in his conduct as a public as well as a private man. His integrity has never been questioned: it is above suspicion. His acquaintance with the forms and usages of the House is already intimate. He is much respected by those members

who differ from, as well as by those who agree with him in his political opinions.

He is in his sixty-second year. His countenance is pale, and has a pensive expression. His hair is partly grey, with remains of its original dark-brown colour. He was in delicate health when he took possession of the Chair. It cannot have been improved by the last session, which was perhaps the longest since the revolution of 1688, whilst his duties, owing to the alteration in the hours of sitting, were more than commonly onerous. On one occasion, towards the close of the session, he sat upwards of twelve successive hours without quitting the Chair for a moment.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TORY PARTY.—LATE MEMBERS.

SIR CHARLES WETHERELL—MR. CROKER—MR. T. MICHAEL SADLER.

THOUGH the Liberal party within the walls of Parliament had been gradually gaining in numbers for the previous twenty years, it was in the beginning of 1829 so inconsiderable, that had the Tories, as they all now admit, only played their cards with ordinary skill, the measure of Reform which passed in 1832, might have been deferred for a quarter of a century. It is true, that, throughout the country, the demand for Reform had become general; but so moderate were the people in their expectations, and so few were the friends of extensive Reform in the House of Commons, that a very limited amendment of the representation would have met the views of the nation. Had the elective franchise been only transferred from East Retford and Penryn, boroughs which had been convicted of bribery and corruption, to Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, or other large unrepresented places, and a few

of the other most populous towns been enfranchised, the people would have been satisfied; and the Government conceding even that small modicum of Reform, would have become so popular, that they might have had a long tenure of office. But the Duke of Wellington in an evil hour for himself and his party, pronounced the then existing representation of the country to be "the most perfect that human ingenuity could devise," and proclaimed his determination to resist the slightest alteration in that system. At the moment the noble Duke made this notable and ill-judged declaration, two-thirds, at least, of the members of the House of Commons, were decided Tories, or, at all events, had, before that time, identified themselves with that party; but so powerful was the sensation produced among the people by this announcement, and so loud was the demand for Parliamentary Reform, that a great many members of the House of Commons, seeing they could not stem the torrent of public opinion, deemed it prudent to yield to it. A general election followed soon after, and such had in the meantime become the power of public opinion, that even under the then existing system of the close burghs of England, and the close counties, as well as burghs, of Scotland,—there was only a majority of one in the House of Commons

against the Reform Bill first proposed,—and which was, in many respects, more sweeping than the one which eventually passed. Thus, then, the number of the Tories was reduced to 329 in the House of Commons before the passing of the Reform Bill. In the first parliament after that measure had become the law of the land, their numbers were reduced to about 192. Since then, however, there has been a re-action in their favour. Their number now is estimated at 270; but they have often apparently mustered about 300, owing to their ranks having been, on several late occasions, reinforced by moderate reformers.

The most distinguished individuals of the Tory party who were members of the House immediately previous to the passing of the Reform Bill, have, for the most part, still seats in it: Sir Charles Wetherell, Mr. Croker, the late Mr. T. Michael Sadler, and two or three others, are the exceptions.

Never was the exclusion of a member more generally regretted than was that of Sir Charles Wetherell. He was a high Tory, and never was there a man who so uncompromisingly and zealously asserted his opinions. There were formerly many Tories, as there are now Liberals, who adopted a particular creed, simply because it paid best, and not from any very marked preference to one class

of principles over another. Not so with Sir Charles. He believes most potently in the superior excellence of Toryism; he loves it for its own sake; it has no additional charms to him when associated with the loaves and fishes of power, nor does it lose any of its attractions when in Opposition. He is one of the most disinterested men, of any party, of the present day. His attachment to his principles was sorely tried in 1829; but he came through the ordeal in the most triumphant manner. It was well known that the Duke of Wellington on that occasion offered him one of the highest judicial situations in the country, on the condition of his supporting the Government in the measure of Catholic Emancipation; but he held fast his integrity, notwithstanding the strength of the temptation. In politics any more than in morals, he could not recognize the principle of expediency. His maxim then, as on all other occasions, was that honesty is the best policy. He is ready any day, should the necessity arise, of which happily there is little chance, to suffer any species of martyrdom which the opposite party may think best,—for his political principles.

But it was not because of the straightforward conduct and unimpeachable consistency of Sir Charles Wetherell, that his exclusion from Parliament was so generally regretted by the House. It

was his peculiar manners and his rich humour that made him so great a favourite. He was generally very severe as well as witty on his opponents, but it was clearly at the principles of the men, and not at the men themselves, that he levelled his happy sarcasms. This is an important distinction: and the more so, because in a great many cases honourable members, under the pretext of attacking the principles and arguments of their opponents, do in reality indulge their personal animosities by attacking the men. Few members have had fewer personal enemies than Sir Charles. I hardly knew one that cherished any rooted aversion to him.

He never opened his mouth, but the House was sure to be convulsed with laughter. When he rose all eyes were invariably turned towards him: honourable members expected a profusion of jokes, and they were never disappointed. Sir Charles's personal appearance strikingly contrasted with his matter. Lavater would have pronounced him one of the dullest and most morose of human beings: a person meeting him in the streets, would at once infer, if any faith is to be put in physiognomy, that he was some Friar just escaped from a twenty or thirty years' seclusion in a convent. He usually looks sulky: his appear-

ance is to a stranger's mind the *beau ideal* of a cynical philosopher. When lashing the Liberals, and denouncing what he terms revolutionary doctrines, his countenance darkens with an expression of supreme scorn. His face is deeply furrowed with wrinkles, though apparently not more than from fifty-five to sixty years of age. In person he is tall and athletic. His complexion is dark, and his features are large. Nothing can daunt him or put him out of countenance. He is impervious alike to the coarsest and most refined sarcasms which may be levelled at him,—and few men within the walls of Parliament have been the butts of so much ridicule; certainly none on account of their personal appearance. He was a target for every Liberal to shoot at. His clothes are always threadbare. I never yet saw a suit on him for which a Jew old-clothes-man would give ten shillings. How or where he gets his wardrobe nobody knows, but every one has remarked that a new suit, or even a new hat, coat, waistcoat, or trowsers singly, was never yet seen to grace his person. I cannot think he has a tailor, or if he have, it is impossible Snip can ever take his measure. His clothes always look as if made by accident; they never fit him. They literally hang loosely about him. As for braces, he has an unconquerable aversion to

them. Whether like the elder Hannibal towards the Romans, he has sworn eternal hostility to what he calls "suspenders," is not known; but no one can doubt he would as soon that his neck were encircled in a halter, as that his breeches should be adjusted by means of braces.

Though the cause of so much laughter in others, I scarcely ever yet knew a smile play on Sir Charles's own countenance. I doubt much if he himself sees the wit and humour with which his speeches sparkle; certainly there is not the least appearance of an effort to be witty or humourous.

He is capable of undergoing great fatigue. His physical as well as mental exertions during the time the Reform Bill was in Committee, were extraordinary. Night after night—and this, too, after being busily and laboriously engaged all day in the discharge of his professional duties—did he oppose every successive clause of that measure. It was in a great degree owing to his pertinacious opposition and "much speaking," that the debate immediately before the memorable division at seven o'clock in the morning, was prolonged to that unseasonable and unprecedentedly late hour. That division was only one of several which had taken place in the course of the previous night. Sir Charles, on leaving the house at a quarter past

seven, finding that it rained heavily, raised his eyes towards the clouds, as a wild duck, to use the phraseology of an Irish peasant, would do in a thunder storm, and exclaimed, "By G—if I had known this we should have had a few more divisions."

Sir Charles is an excellent lawyer, but an indifferent politician. His mind is incapable of grappling with any great national question. He has no comprehensive views; improvement in the institutions of the country is, with him, synonymous with revolution. Established usages are every thing in his eye. To question the wisdom of our ancestors is in his estimation treason, both against the Constitution and society, and could not be visited with too heavy a punishment. Hence all his speeches in Parliament consisted of denunciations of Liberalism, and eulogiums of "things as they are!" Had Sir Charles been in the house during the late discussions on the Church of Ireland, he would have made some rich exhibitions. After shedding an ocean of tears over the assumed destruction of the Irish Hierarchy, and seen in that destruction the extinction of Christianity all over the world,—he would have branded the Liberals with the epithets of "Atheists!" "Infidels!" &c., and then sent one and all of them, *en masse*, to a locality which shall be nameless, amidst jokes and witticisms,

which, notwithstanding the seriousness of the charges, and the awfulness of the threatened doom, would have made the house ring with laughter; for he cannot open his mouth without giving utterance to something humourous. It is a ruling passion with him, which will, there can be no question, be strong in death.

The Reform Bill, which shut the doors of Parliament against Sir Charles Wetherell, was also the means of bringing to an abrupt termination the legislative career of Mr. Croker. In his exclusion from the house, the Tory party lost the Parliamentary services of one of their most zealous and efficient friends. Nature, according to the representations of his opponents, intended him for a Tory, and education forwarded the purposes of Nature. He lived as strictly within the limits of the world of Toryism, as if it had constituted the only creed in the universe of mind. He not only hated the abstraction of Liberalism, but to have associated, even in the private relations of life, with men holding liberal principles, would have been in his view so enormous an offence against propriety, that he could never have forgiven himself had he committed it. Not only was it impossible, from the very constitution of his mind, that he could ever make a friend of any person entertaining liberal

opinions, but when unavoidable circumstances brought him into personal contact with Reformers, he seemed like a fish out of its element, or like a person breathing a tainted atmosphere. Whatever therefore he knew of Liberalism, was rather from the reports of others than from his own experience or knowledge.

It is no fiction to state that Mr. Croker viewed the passing of the Reform Bill with very much the same feelings as if it had been a personal calamity of the first magnitude. His mind was filled with horror during the day at the bare contemplation of that measure becoming the law of the land, and it disturbed his slumbers at night. Many a sleepless night did he pass when to use Sir Charles Wetherell's expression, "the close boroughs were, day after day, put up to be knocked down." His exertions to avert the catastrophe were almost superhuman. Few constitutions could have stood the amount of physical labour he went through while the several clauses of schedules A and B were being discussed. For some weeks he spoke every consecutive evening against particular clauses of the Reform Bill, upwards, on an average, of three hours. Some nights he made as many as twenty speeches; not under the impression that his eloquence would operate conviction on the minds of Reformers, or

avert the impending destruction of the close boroughs, but merely for the purpose of gaining time. He had great faith in the chapter of accidents doing something for his party, and clung to the very last moment—till the Reform Bill received the Royal Assent—with a tenacity peculiar to himself, to the fond hope that something or other, he knew not what, would occur, "to save the Constitution and the country."

In person, Mr. Croker is tall and well-made. He is bald-headed, and has been so for ten or twelve years. He is fifty-seven years of age, nearly the one-half of which time he was in Parliament. He is a very fluent speaker; but his elocution is somewhat impaired by the circumstance of his not being able to pronounce the letter *r*. He is never at a loss for words; and when in Parliament was chiefly remarkable for the readiness and ingenuity with which he could reply to any opponent. He seldom comparatively made set speeches. He generally reserved himself until some political opponent of mark had addressed the House; he then rose and replied, usually with much effect. His *forte* chiefly lay in detecting and exposing the weak points of an adversary; and when these did not actually exist ready-made to his hand, he invaria-

bly contrived to make them for himself. He was one of the most unfair reasoners in the house; he never hesitated to misrepresent the arguments of his opponents, and though often interrupted in his speeches by honourable members rising up and complaining, frequently with great warmth of temper, of being totally misrepresented, no sooner had they resumed their seats, than he proceeded, demolishing, without mercy, as if no complaint of misrepresentation had been made, the positions which he had himself created and put into their mouths. A more dexterous special pleader than Mr. Croker never sat within the walls of Parliament. His manner was distinguished by an earnestness and animation which invariably commanded the attention of the House. His gesture was violent, often theatrically so. He made infinitely varied evolutions with his person. He could not remain many seconds in the same position. He was always wheeling his body round and round, and by that means managed to address, by turns, not only every part of the house, but almost every member in it. His manner when speaking, was the most mercurial I ever saw. An Irishman in the gallery characteristically observed one evening, that he was like a hen on a hot girdle. He was an

excellent actor; had he gone to the stage when he first took to politics, he could not fail to have earned for himself a distinguished reputation on the histrionic boards.

Mr. Croker felt particularly jealous of Mr. Jeffrey, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, on that learned lord's admission into Parliament. Hence he laboured with his utmost might to damage the Parliamentary reputation,—which, by the way, was never so great as was generally expected it would be,—of the Scotch Advocate. He invariably replied to his speeches when the rules of the House would allow him, thus affording an illustration of the old saying—two of a trade can never agree. For years they had been rival Reviewers; now they were rival orators and legislators. The Scotch Advocate spoke *Edinburgh Reviews*, and the Secretary to the Board of Admiralty replied to him in *Quarterly Reviews*.

Mr. Croker is quite an aristocrat in his notions. The most memorable thing he ever uttered in Parliament was an exclamation, on hearing some honourable member mention the name of Bedford-square, "Bedford-square! I know nothing of the geography of Bedford-square: I did not know there was such a place in the world!" This affected ignorance of every thing but the aristocratic squares

of the West-end, drew down on him the deserved ridicule of the House.*

Mr. T. M. SADLER, the late member for Newark, was another able friend of the Tories, of whose services in Parliament they were deprived by the Reform Bill. He was the nominee of the Duke of Newcastle, and it was in reference to the influence of that nobleman over his tenants in Newark, in support of Mr. Sadler's opponent, Mr. Sergeant Wilde, the opposing Reform candidate,—that his Grace openly asserted his right to do what he liked with his own. Mr. Sadler was only in the House of Commons during the two short Parliaments immediately preceding the passing of the Reform Bill. He was quite unknown to fame when he entered the house: even the little local reputation he possessed, was made rather in the capacity of a banker in Leeds than as an orator or politician. His maiden speech, therefore, which was one of great eloquence and ability, and which occupied nearly three hours in the delivery, came like a peal of thunder on the ears of the House. Indeed, had he descended from the clouds, instead of emerging from the comparative obscurity of his banking-

* I have been credibly informed that in consequence of this observation of Mr. Croker, the houses in Bedford Square fell fifty per cent. in rental.

house in Leeds, his party could not have idolized him more. The proudest of the aristocracy courted his company, and took every occasion of paying homage to him. The Duke of Newcastle derived much credit for penetration in discovering the light which Mr. Sadler had so long hid under a bushel. It was, however, soon found out, that though a man of great talent, and one who could be of much service to his party, he was vastly overrated. The speech, a splendid one undoubtedly, with which he had electrified the House, they supposed to have been extemporaneous, and that he had only any evening, and on any interesting occasion, to "get on his legs" and deliver another equally excellent. Here was their error. The speech which they had supposed to be spoken with very little, if any, premeditation, had been the result of weeks of most intense study, and every word, like the schoolboy's task, had been most carefully committed to memory. Night after night, and week after week, did the Tories look to the Opposition bench which he occupied, in the hope of his pouring out another such torrent of eloquence; but they looked in vain. He was silent as the grave. When, some two or three months afterwards, he was compelled to say something in consequence of some pointed allusions both to himself and his patron, the Duke

of Newcastle, the charm was in a great measure dissolved. He stuttered, and stammered, and floundered at almost every second sentence, in such a way as to be absolutely painful to the House The fact was, that he was not an extempore speaker; he could not deliver two consecutive sentences, with any propriety or effect, on the spur of the moment. He was a man who might make five or six good speeches in the course of a Session, which would be allowing about a month for the preparation of each; but that was the utmost extent of his capabilities. Even on the hustings, where all the "silent members" are proverbially loquacious, he completely broke down. He could not reply to the attacks of a rival candidate. Nay, in his own committee-room, if he was, by an unexpected question or other interruption, diverted from his train of thought, the circumstance so disconcerted him as to make it difficult for him to add a single word more on the subject.

Mr. Sadler was fifty-six years of age when he died. He was of middle size. His head was quite grey. In his countenance there were such a seriousness and solemnity, that a stranger might have mistaken him for a clergyman. His features were strongly marked, and his elocution was in harmony with his staid and pensive appearance. His voice was full and distinct, but it had a species of twang about it very

much resembling that which is so often heard in the pulpit. This, however, rather aided than impaired the effect of his celebrated maiden speech in St. Stephen's, inasmuch as its chief characteristics consisted of gloomy forebodings of the effects which, he alleged, would flow from the passing of the Reform Bill.

There was not one of their party whose exclusion from the House, by the passing of that measure, was more generally regretted by the Tories than was Mr. Sadler's, and the greatest efforts were made to get him returned for Leeds. In the first election for that town, after the Reform Bill became the law of the land, there was little probability of a successful appeal to its constituency, both on account of the great popularity of his opponent, Mr. Macauley, and the intense enthusiasm which then existed in favour of reform measures; but when a vacancy occurred in the representation of the place, by Mr. Macauley's acceptance of an appointment in India, there was almost a moral certainty of his return, had not Mr. Foster. late proprietor and editor of the *Leeds Patriot*, suddenly started up,—because of some alleged private wrongs he had suffered at the hands of Mr. Sadler,—and made a detailed and pointed *exposé* of various circumstances in Mr. Sadler's history before

unknown. The statements made were of a nature to create at once an overwhelming prejudice against him in the public mind. Many, even of his own party, withdrew their support from him, because, while they conceived the charges were of a character which imperiously demanded an immediate and complete disproval, he, acting on the advice of his committee, declined taking any notice of them. He lost his election by a majority of six to one, and was so mortified at the circumstance, that he formed a resolution, as was well understood by his friends, and, indeed, almost publicly stated by himself, to retire for ever into private life.

Mr. Sadler was one of the most benevolent men of the present day. His exertions, both in and out of Parliament, in favour of the factory children, were great and unwearied, and will endear his name to millions yet unborn. For a long time he laboured under great bodily indisposition, brought on, there can be no doubt, by the amount of his labours in the cause of suffering humanity.

CHAPTER VII.

TORY PARTY.—PRESENT MEMBERS.

SIR ROBERT PEEL—MR. GOULBURN—SIR EDWARD KNATCHBULL—SIR HENRY HARDINGE—SIR ROBERT INGLIS—LORD SANDON—MR. PRAED—MR. C. W. W. WYNN—LORD MAHON—COLONEL SIBTHORPE—MARQUIS OF CHANDOS—MR. F. SHAW—SIR RICHARD VYVIAN.

Sir Robert Peel is now, as he has been since the death of Mr. Canning, the leader of the Tory party in the House of Commons. He is a remarkably good-looking man, rather above the usual size, and finely proportioned. He is of a clear complexion, full round face, and red-haired. His usual dress is a green surtout, a light waistcoat, and dark trowsers. He generally displays a watch-chain on his breast, with a bunch of gold seals of unusually large dimensions. He can scarcely be called a dandy, and yet he sacrifices a good deal to the graces. I hardly know a public man who dresses in better taste. He is in the prime of life, being forty-seven years of age. His whole appearance indicates health. His constitution is excellent, and

his temperate habits have seconded the kindly purposes of Nature. He is capable of undergoing great physical fatigue. I have known him remain in the house for three or four successive nights till one and two o'clock, not only watching with the most intense anxiety the progress of important debates, but taking an active part in the proceedings, and yet be in his office, transacting business of the greatest moment, by ten o'clock on the following morning. Sir Robert is possessed of business habits of the first order. He can descend, when there is a necessity for it, to the minutest circumstances in a great question, and master them all as fully as if he had never had a thought beyond the pale of such matters. He was never yet known to bungle any measure from ignorance of business details.

Sir Robert Peel is perhaps the best and most effective speaker in the House. He is always fluent, even in his most extemporaneous addresses. His language is uniformly correct, and generally eloquent. He is never at a loss for words. These he has almost invariably at his command in abundance, even when he is deficient in every thing having the semblance of argument. He is remarkably dexterous in debate. I have often admired the wonderful expertness with which he has extricated

himself from the awkward positions into which his opponents have thrust him. His self-possession, which scarcely ever forsakes him, is of vast importance to him; and, in conjunction with his singularly good tact, enables him to make the most of a bad cause. The only occasion on which I ever knew him break fairly down, was when, last session, attempting to vindicate the appointment of the Marquis of Londonderry as Ambassador to the Court of St. Petersburgh. That was as signal a failure as was ever witnessed in the house. At one time he stuttered and stammered as if he had had an impediment in his speech; at another he made a dead pause, not being able for some time to utter a single word. He seemed to feel that he had undertaken a bad cause. The memorable declaration of the noble Marquis, that the Poles were a set of rebels, and that they ought to be compelled at any price to submit to the government of Nicholas, was pressed on the attention of the House by Mr. Shiel, Mr. C. Fergusson, and others, in strains of such indignant eloquence as to give rise to a burning enthusiasm among honourable members of all political opinions in favour of the Poles, such as I never before witnessed, and which must have destroyed the nerves of the strongest-minded man that ever existed, if he had had, like Sir Robert, to perform

the ungracious task of vindicating the character of the man whose unfeeling and ungenerous expressions had caused this resistless burst of noble feeling in favour of the Poles.

There never was a more complete master of the plausibilities than Sir Robert Peel. He is apparently all candour and sincerity. He invariably appeals to his honour for the truth of what he says. He not only urges the best arguments which can be advanced in favour of the cause which he has espoused, but there is such an appearance of honesty and fair-dealing about him, that it is with great difficulty those who are most opposed to his politics can guard against being led away by his winning manner. He is a most consummate special pleader: had he been destined for the bar, he would long since have been one of its most distinguished ornaments.

In his manner Sir Robert is highly dignified, and his delivery is generally graceful. He usually commences his most important speeches with his left hand resting on his side. His utterance on such occasions is slow and solemn in the outset; but when he advances to the heart of his subject he becomes animated and speaks with some rapidity, but always with much distinctness. His enunciation is clear; and few speakers possess a greater power

over their voice. He can modulate its soft and musical tones at pleasure. He is sometimes humourous, on which occasions his manner has an irresistibly comic effect. His jokes, when he does indulge in them, are almost invariably good, though often too refined to tell with effect on any other than an intellectual audience. It is, however, but comparatively seldom that he makes any effort at wit. His *forte* manifestly lies in the serious mode of address. He excels all men I ever knew in deep tragedy: in that he is quite at home. No man in the House can appeal with a tittle of the effect with which he can, to the fears of his audience; and he is too good a tactician not to know, that a great deal more may be accomplished by addressing in this strain an audience who have rank and property to lose, than by cold argumentative orations. Hence the staple of his principal speeches consists of a forcible and skilful exhibition of the alleged frightful consequences which will inevitably flow from the adoption of a course of policy different from that which he recommends. On such occasions his appearance and manner are as solemn as if he were commissioned to stand up and proclaim that the world had come to an end. And he usually produces a corresponding effect. The deepest stillness pervades the House while he is

speaking. Even in the gallery, where there is generally a great deal of noise from the exits and the entrances of strangers, the falling of a pin might be heard. All eyes are fixed on Sir Robert. Honourable members, of all parties, are, for the time, spell-bound. Their reason is taken prisoner. The feelings obtain a temporary triumph over the understanding. The solemnity of the speaker is communicated to the hearers. No smile is seen to play on the countenances of even the most lively and strenuous of his opponents. All are as grave as if some question of the deepest importance to them individually were about to be decided. Sir Robert is a speaker whom one would never tire of hearing. I have often heard him speak for two or three hours at a time, but never knew an instance of an honourable member quitting the house because he felt Sir Robert's oration to be tedious. On the contrary, the regret always is that he does not continue longer. Sir John Hobhouse was, I am sure, only expressing the feeling entertained by every member in the house, when he said, immediately before the resignation of Sir Robert in April last, that if any thing could reconcile him to the continuance in office of the right honourable Baronet, it would be the pleasure of hearing him speak.

Sir Robert's manners, both in and out of Parliament, are most conciliatory. He treats every person with whom he comes into contact with the utmost respect. He has a wonderful command of temper. I never yet knew him, even in the heat of debate, use a single irritating word to any opponent. And the same courtesy and respect with which he treats others, are, as it is right they should be, reciprocated by them. Sir Robert has not only no personal enemies, but is held in the highest esteem by the most virulent of his opponents. It is the abstraction—the particular class of opinions of which he is the most distinguished champion, and not himself, as an individual, against which the Liberal party direct their uncompromising hostility.

One feature in the oratory of Sir Robert, which every one who ever heard him must have observed, is the practice he has, when speaking on any great question, of striking the box which lies on the table, at regular intervals, with his right hand. On an average, he gives it two strokes in a minute; and as these are given with great force, and the box is remarkable for its acoustic properties, the sound is distinctly heard in every part of the house, and considerably aids the effect which his speech would otherwise produce. Sir Robert has another feature in a great measure peculiar to himself when addres-

sing the House on topics of engrossing interest; for when speaking on matters of comparatively trifling moment he makes no effort to produce an effect. I allude to his practice of turning his face round to his own party and his back on the Speaker, when he is urging any argument which appears to him particularly forcible, and which he thinks likely to be received by them with peculiar applause. And in most cases he is wonderfully happy in his guesses. In such instances he looks his party significantly in the face, and pauses for the expected cheer, which is scarcely ever refused him, and which, in the great majority of cases, is given with a strength of lungs and an evident cordiality which could not fail to satisfy the most ambitious of oratorical distinction. No man is more gratified with applause than Sir Robert; no one feels more mortified when it is withheld, or not given with that liberality which he thinks the speech deserved.

When hard pressed by an opponent, the right honourable Baronet usually sits with his left knee over the right, his left hand thrust into the breast of his waistcoat, and his hat down over his brow. In this position he sits staring his assailant in the face, rather, however, with a serious good-natured look, than with one expressive of anger.

The member for Tamworth, though a man of

great talent, and consummate tact in adapting himself to the temper and prejudices of the House, has not the slightest pretensions to genius. No one ever knew him utter a great philosophical truth or sublime conception. He never startles or delights his audience by anything of striking originality; there is not a single passage in any of his speeches, which the auditor would wish to preserve in his memory as something of surpassing grandeur. He never descends below mediocrity; he is generally far above it—often on the precincts of genius; but never crosses the line which separates it from mere talent or ability.

I have spoken of the first-rate business habits of the right honourable Baronet, and of the surprising ease with which he can master the minutest details of any business question to which he applies his mind. He is not, however, by any means a man of extensive information; on the contrary, he is ignorant on some questions to an extent discreditable in a public man. The reader will have some difficulty in believing the statement, that when a number of gentlemen waited on him, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the subject of the Repeal of the Window Tax, he expressed his opinion that no landlord of a house, however large and however many windows it contained, was liable

to be charged for the Window Tax, if the house were so let out as that no one lodger occupied apartments containing more than eight windows. But though ignorant at that particular time with regard to a very important fact connected with his office, he would have taken care, before submitting any statements on the subject to Parliament, to have made himself acquainted with all its details, and thus prevented any bungling in his financial measures.

Sir Robert Peel, though always disclaiming any anxiety for office, is most ambitious of that honour. He is quite uncomfortable in Opposition: he is only in his element when in place. In his speech in April last, on the Irish Church question, immediately before the division which sealed the fate of his Ministry, he declared he was quite indifferent about office, and was more than usually jocular. This indifference, however, was affected, not real; and his jokes were only jokes in words, not in spirit; for I chanced to see him on his way home after the division, and a more perfect picture of disappointed ambition I never saw in my life. Lavater was right in this instance, though he should be wrong in every other: the emotions of Sir Robert's mind were visibly expressed in his countenance.

There is not a man in the house more sensitive

on the subject of honour than Sir Robert. You may apply to him epithets which are synonimous with fool, blockhead, &c. if you please, and he utters not a word of complaint: you may brand him with the name of bigot, either in politics or religion, or both, if you are so inclined, and he murmurs not a word of resentment; but charge him with any thing, either in his private or public capacity, inconsistent with the character of a man of honour, and that moment he demands an explanation, which if not satisfactory, and accompanied by a full retractation, will be followed up, before he quits the house, by a challenge to a hostile meeting on the ensuing morning.

Sir Robert Peel never speaks on any great question until immediately before the close of the debate, however often that debate may be adjourned. His object is two-fold—first, that he may hear all that may be urged on the opposite side; and, secondly, that he may have the benefit of the "last word." No man can be more conscious than he is of the advantage to the cause he espouses of a skilful reply, immediately before the division, to the principal arguments of the leading speakers on the adverse side; and certainly no man that ever sat within the walls of Parliament could display more consummate tact than he does in turning that advantage

to account. Never was debater more acute in detecting the weak points of an adversary, nor more happy in exposing and placing them in the most prominent point of view. And all this he seems to do with the greatest ease; without any appearance of effort. What he does on the spur of the moment is as well and effectively done as if it had been the result of months of premeditation. In his replies to speeches which were delivered but a few hours before, there is a propriety of arrangement—a lucidness of manner—a vigour and closeness of reasoning—a purity and eloquence of style—a felicity in the delivery—and a fulness and completeness in the argument, which could not have been surpassed had the speech cost him weeks of the most careful preparation.

Sir Robert is the idol of the Tory party. With the Conservatives in the House of Commons every thing he says is oracular. He can do with them and make of them what he pleases. They are the mere creatures of his will—are as much under his control, and as ready to be formed and fashioned in any way he chooses, as is the clay in the hands of the potter. Never had the leader of a party a more complete ascendancy over that party than has this Tory Coryphæus over the Conservatives in the House of Commons.

Sir Robert's political character is not yet thoroughly understood, even by his most intimate friends. It is difficult to discriminate in him between what is real and what is assumed—between the opinions he entertains and the line of conduct he pursues from principle, and those opinions with which he identifies himself, and that course of action he follows, from consideration of expediency.

At bottom he is a decided Tory. He went on pretty comfortably under the dynasty of Eldon, Sidmouth, Castlereagh, &c., for they were kindred spirits. With them he had a fellow-feeling. But the extinction of that dynasty, and the progress of liberal principles, often induced him to make certain concessions to the spirit of the age. Hence he began to make a show of liberality, though his principles were unchanged. It was the principle of expediency which constrained him to consent to Catholic Emancipation. He did not concur in that measure from any sense of the justice of the claims of the Catholics: on the contrary, he admitted his opposition to their emancipation was overcome by considerations of irresistible expediency alone. Had he seen the possibility of preserving the tranquillity of Ireland, and yet refusing the demands of the Catholics for the removal of their civil disabilities, he would have

opposed that removal till the last moment of his existence. The same principle has been his guiding star from that time down to the present hour. Had he contemplated the possibility of the Reform Bill passing, he would, in appearance, have thrown his Tory prejudices to the dogs, and concurred in the measure; but he clung till the very last to the hope that the House of Lords or the King, would strangle the "monster." On his accession to office at the close of last year, he publicly stated that he would not repeal the Reform Bill. Why? Because, in his heart, he loved or approved of that measure? No: but because he saw the attempt would be madness—that it would not only have thrown the country into confusion, but doubtless also himself from office. Again, in the case of the Dissenters, so long as he thought it could safely be done, he resisted their claims, as he previously opposed those of the Catholics; but when he saw that the further resistance of those claims was incompatible with the progress of public opinion, he yielded to circumstances, and brought in a bill for redressing the grievances of that class of his Majesty's subjects. It is the same with regard to Municipal Corporations. These were dear to him as the apple of his eye; but he saw that no Ministry could hold together for any length of time which

resisted their reform. Hence, as his conduct on the bringing in of Lord John Russell's Bill clearly proved, he was prepared, had not his Ministry previously closed its career, to have granted a liberal measure of Corporation Reform.

Sir Robert Peel is a remarkably suspicious man; he reposes but little confidence, in public matters, even in his most intimate political friends. He is pre-eminently a man of his own counsels. He will take advice from no one. His princely fortune enables him to act with perfect independence, and no man can be more conscious of the ascendancy which that fortune, conjoined to his great talents, has given him over his party. He is well aware that the very existence of that party is bound up in him, and he is, moreover, sensible that they are equally conscious of the fact. Hence he knows that he may with impunity conceal from them what particular course he intends to pursue on any given question, and that, however much they may disapprove of that course, they will soon be compelled, by the necessity of the case, to feign, if they do not feel, a disposition to acquiesce in it. His conduct on the bringing in of Lord John Russell's Bill for the Reform of Municipal Corporations, afforded one out of many instances of the ignorance in which he keeps his political friends as to the course he intends to pur-

sue with respect to particular measures. They all went down to the house that night under the decided impression that Sir Robert meant to proclaim his most uncompromising opposition not only to the bill itself, but to the very principle of the measure. Never shall I forget the surprise and horror which their countenances expressed when he rose, and after two or three introductory remarks, avowed not only his approbation of the principle of the bill, but of the great majority of its details. Had the Tories read in the words of their chief the immediate and utter extinction of their party, they could not have looked more confounded than they did on that occasion. They knew, however, that if with him resistance to Corporation Reform would at best be but a doubtful experiment, it would have been a piece of pure madness to attempt it without him. Hence they were one and all speechless: not a whisper of disapprobation of the measure was to be heard on the Tory benches.

During the short period that Sir Robert Peel was Prime Minister, there was no one among the Opposition he so much dreaded as Sir John Cam Hobhouse. Sir John knew his sore points, and took care to profit by his knowledge. Without making such allusions to Sir Robert as the latter could fairly consider as meant to be personally offensive,

he heaped his taunts and sarcasms on the devoted head of the First Minister of the Crown so unsparingly, and with such effect, that Sir Robert literally writhed under them. On several occasions, during Sir John's attack on him, in reference to the appointment of the Marquis of Londonderry as our Ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburgh, I observed,—and every one who had an opportunity of seeing him must also have observed,—that his countenance became pale as death, and the cheers with which the most pointed passages of Sir John's speech were received, must have been as mortifying to him as the speech itself. When Sir John told him that he was the victim of the Stanley party, who amused themselves with him as they pleased, and could by a single breath, extinguish his Government;—when he observed that the Opposition were, in point of fact, the Executive, inasmuch as they had a majority on all important questions;—when he reproached Sir Robert with a want of spirit, in retaining office after being defeated on all questions of importance;—and when he contrasted the professions of liberal principles which the right honourable Baronet had then made, with his strenuous opposition to them during the whole of his previous public life,—the deafening plaudits which followed, as well as the observations them-

selves, must have been gall and wormwood to Sir Robert's soul.

Mr. Goulbourn, member for the Cambridge University, holds a distinguished place among the Tory party. In person he is rather above the middle size. His head has, of late years, leaned a little to the left side. His countenance has a thoughtful aspect. His features are strongly marked. Incipient wrinkles, in several parts of his face, begin to show themselves. His complexion is fair, and his hair of a light brown colour. On the crown of his head there is a partial baldness. His appearance is much in his favour, and his manner of delivery is easy and graceful. He has a fine musical voice, and times his utterance with much judgment to the ear. Before, however, proceeding many sentences, the favourable impression created by his personal appearance and correct elocution must, in a great measure be neutralised in the mind of a person of opposite opinions, by his extreme High Church and State notions. There are few more zealous or decided Tories in the House; and perhaps there are few men of any party who would make greater sacrifices for his principles. He would rather suffer a dozen martyrdoms than compromise the least iota of his creed. The sincerity of his opinions has never, so

far as I am aware, been questioned. What he has chiefly distinguished himself for, is zealously defending the Established Church, and giving the most determined opposition to any concessions to Roman Catholics or Dissenters. It is admitted by his own most intimate friends, that he carries his hostility to the latter to a very unusual extent. On one occasion he publicly stated, that if Dissenters were admitted to the University of Cambridge, he would not allow his son to remain in that institution; nor would he, in any other place, or under any other circumstances, allow that son to associate with Dissenters. He stands erect on the seven-leagued stilts of his High Church creed, and looks down with ineffable scorn on those of a different persuasion. He is most thoroughly persuaded in his own mind,—and it is but justice to him to add that he is not peculiar in his opinion,—that any civil concessions to the Dissenters would be incompatible with the existence of the Established Church. Hence, most probably, his very decided dislike of that body. The Whigs and Radicals he considers as being, for the most part, Jacobins and infidels, resolutely bent on the destruction of the throne and the altar; and, as he is always open and honest in the expression of his opinions, he has repeatedly given utterance to words to this effect. He has great

self-confidence in speaking, arising in a great measure, from a very exalted opinion of his talents. He is never at a loss for words. His language is faultless, but he wants stamina. He is, as Hamlet says, "words, words, words." He never, even by chance, stumbles on a single striking idea. His oratory leaves no impression; you forget every thing he said the moment he resumes his seat. He chiefly delights in reply, and seldom makes a set speech on any subject. He does not appear to be a great favourite with the more liberal members of his own party. He is in his fifty-first year.

Sir Edwabd Knatchbull has in many respects a fellow feeling with Mr. Goulburn as regards religion and politics; but Sir Edward is constitutionally a better-tempered man; has a very humble estimate of his own powers, and is by no means offensive or flippant in his manner. Sir Edward is a venerable looking man, fifty-four years of age, and with a head of hair white as snow. He has small pleasant eyes, and one of the highest foreheads I ever saw. The principles of physiognomy do not hold good in him. I never saw a better natured or more mild and amiable expression of countenance, and yet he cannot endure opinions and principles which are opposed to his own. He is a tolerable speaker: his utterance is easy and on the

whole natural. He does not use much gesture, though he occasionally becomes highly animated in his voice, which is in some degree musical, and of considerable compass. He does not speak often; when he does so, it is generally because of some personal allusions to himself. He bears the severest attacks with an edifying degree of calmness and good-nature; and yet when he rises to reply to them, does so with much spirit and effect. To say that he is brilliant, would be as remote from the truth as to describe him as the brainless personage which the Liberal journals generally represent him to be. He is in truth a man of very respectable talents, and would exercise some influence in the political world but for the high Toryism of his opinions, and his want of prudence in promulgating them.

Sir HENRY HARDINGE is a man of considerable importance in the estimation of the Tories. He is a person of gentlemanly appearance, rather above the middle stature, and well made. He is about fifty years of age. His air is of a light brown colour, and his complexion fair. He lost one of his hands when serving under the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula. His forehead is prominent and has an intellectual cast. He is doubtless a man of highly respectable talents, but nothing more. He is not, in the strict sense of the term, an

orator, but often makes effective speeches, and is always listened to by both sides of the House with attention and respect. He knows well how to repel an attack, and if he deem it personal, demands an explanation and apology, or hints pretty plainly that there is but one alternative. He is not pert or flippant in his manner, nor does he indulge in personalities; but he is easily irritated by the animadversions of others, and is apt to construe that into a personal insult which did not exceed the bounds of fair and temperate discussion. An instance of this, which but for the interference of the House and the Speaker, might have been attended with fatal consequences, occurred immediately before the dissolution of Sir Robert Peel's Ministry. Mr. Barron, one of the Irish members, accused Sir Robert's Administration of acting a most discreditable part in affecting Reform principles, though they had opposed them all their lives, for the sake of being able to hold office. Though this was the language of many, and though no individual allusion was made to Sir Henry, he immediately rose and heaped the most contemptuous epithets on Mr. Barron, which the latter gentleman, as being the person attacked, hurled back with the same contempt on Sir Henry's head. A violent altercation ensued; and as each in effect challenged the other, a

hostile meeting must certainly have taken place between the parties on the following morning, had not the House and Speaker, as already intimated, interfered, and demanded an apology from both parties.

Sir Robert Inglis is a man of some consequence among the Tories. He is of middle size in personal height, but very corpulent. His complexion is fair with a tendency to ruddiness. His hair is of a dark brown, but a considerable part of his head is bald. His features are rather large, and his face very full and round. He is remarkably peaceable in his disposition, and would not for the world make any observation respecting his opponents if he thought they would have any cause for personal complaint: and lest any thing he says by way of animadversion on those on the opposite side of the house should be so construed, he is sure to preface his remarks by disclaiming all personal allusions, and very often by assuring the party to be animadverted on, that he does question the propriety of his conduct or his speech with great pain to himself. A rather amusing instance of this, in consequence of the remarks which it called forth, occurred in June last, when he charged Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Shiel, and all the other Roman Catholic Members with perjury. He protested that nothing could cause him greater uneasiness of mind

than to be called on to prefer such a charge; and those who know the right honourable Baronet must give him credit for sincerity when he made such a protestation. He is a religious man; he belongs to the Evangelical party in the Church; and it was from religious considerations that he thought he was bound to admonish the Roman Catholic members of the spiritual peril they incurred by voting as they did on the Irish Church appropriation clause, after they had solemnly sworn to do nothing that could affect the interests or stability of that Church. Mr. Sheil's reply was remarkable for its ability and severity. Mr. O'Connell's was not ostensibly so severe, but to a sensitive, refined mind it must have been more galling; he characterised the right honourable Baronet as "fat, sleek, and contented," which is just Sir Robert's character to a nicety, and exclaimed, in his own peculiar style, amidst bursts of laughter loud and universal, "Oh! the misery of being taunted with perjury in such a drawling hum-drum speech! Why, the whining manner in which the charge is made is worse than the charge itself!" Sir Robert does speak in a drawling, whining sort of way. His enunciation is distinct, and he talks with ease and fluency; but there is a peculiar tone in his pronunciation, which were much better adapted to the pulpit than it is to

the senate. There is not a more upright or conscientious man in the house. He is accused of bigotry and a want of charity to those beyond the pale of the Established Church; but he never utters a sentiment which he does not sincerely entertain. There is, moreover, this redeeming quality in his alleged bigotry—he cordially pities those whom his creed obliges him to condemn. He is sorry to be compelled to doom you to what Byron calls "the zealot's ready hell," but he cannot help it. He abhors the very idea of expediency, and would not on any consideration yield to the spirit of the age, the march of intellect, or whatever else it may be termed, one single iota of his principles. His governing maxim is, "Let justice and right be done, though the heavens should fall." Sir Robert scarcely ever speaks except on questions which bear directly on the interests of the church. She is ever uppermost in his mind, and he is at all times forward to defend her to the best of his ability. He is a man of respectable talent, but nothing more. Both his matter and manner are always of the same order of merit. As he never intentionally wounds the feelings of any opponent, so he never resents any attack that may be made on him. In fact, he may be said to be impervious to attack. He bears, with perfect equanimity, sarcasms and ridicule

which would make other honourable members, of more keen susceptibilities of mind, agonize on their seats. Sir Robert is now in his forty-ninth year. It is his excellent and consistent character which makes him of the importance he is to his party. The best speech I ever heard him make was when, in the Session of 1834, he resisted the proposed admission of the Dissenters to the University of Oxford. That speech was full of historical research, well digested, and brought to bear with effect on the question before the House. It was listened to with attention by honourable members generally, and was loudly applauded by his own party. With the exception of Sir Robert Peel's, it was undoubtedly the best speech delivered on the occasion from the Tory side of the house. The University of Oxford could not, were it to go on a tour of inquiry through the country for the purpose, find a more fitting member than Sir Robert Inglis.

Lord SANDON, member for Liverpool, has latterly been looked on by the Tories as a man of some mark. For some time before the passing of the Reform Bill, and during the time it was under discussion in the Lower House, he was generally supposed to be a nobleman of Liberal sentiments. So far as supporting the Reform measure as a whole, though opposing several of its most important

clauses, entitled him to be so considered, the public, in this respect, did him no more than justice. For some time, too, after the Reform Bill became the law of the land, the frequency with which he supported, both by his speeches and votes, the measures of Lord Grey's Ministry, entitled him to at least the credit of being a moderate Reformer; but his opponents allege that his support of Liberal measures did not flow from his attachment to Liberal principles, but was rather the result of that shrewd, calculating prudence, which led him to swim with the torrent which he saw could not be stemmed. He is, they say, quite an expediency-man, and that no one knows better than he how to make a virtue of necessity. In support of this opinion, they point to his conduct on a recent occasion. The Ministry of Lord Melbourne was ejected from office, and that of Sir Robert Peel was formed under circumstances which seemed to him to insure the permanent restoration of the Tories to power; and accordingly, no sooner had the new Parliament met, than he proclaimed himself, both by words and deeds, a Tory "of the right sort." He clung till the very last moment, as fondly as did Sir Robert Peel himself, to the hope of weathering the storm by which the Tory party found themselves overtaken. He soon saw, however, with infinite dis-

appointment and mortification, that he had leaned on a broken reed: he saw the "Conservative Administration"—the name by which he delighted to call Sir Robert Peel's Ministry—dashed to pieces. Since that time, however, he has still identified himself with his Conservative friends.

Lord Sandon is a plain-looking man, with a rather serious cast of countenance. He is in his thirty-seventh year. He is somewhat above the middle size, and slenderly made. His face is slightly pitted with the small-pox. His voice is harsh and croaking in its tones. He is a miserable speaker: he is not only perfectly innocent of ever having given birth to an eloquent sentence, but he cannot even talk—notwithstanding his excessive fondness for talking—with tolerable fluency. He stammers at every second or third sentence; corrects his phraseology over and over again, and yet often leaves the sentence, with its latest amendment, as much in need of correction as at first. Nor is his manner in any degree redeemed by his matter. He never by chance rises above mediocrity, but is generally found grovelling below it. He is one of the many members who are under some obligations to the "gentlemen of the press." It is a much more agreeable task to read than to hear his Parliamentary orations.

Lord Sandon, notwithstanding his defects as a public speaker, is a nobleman of some weight in the house, especially, as already observed, with the Tory party. He belongs to a most respectable family. He is the eldest son of the Earl of Harrowby; is the representative of a large, populous, and influential place; is very exemplary in all the private relations of life: and these are circumstances and attributes which, when they centre in one individual, never fail to command respect both within and without the house.

Mr. Praed, the member for Yarmouth, is, owing to accidental circumstances, deserving of a few words in speaking of the Tory party. He is a young man, being under thirty-five years of age. His violent denunciations of the Reform Bill, and his pertinacity in opposing it clause by clause when in Committee, together with his great self-confidence and a strong yet distinct and musical voice,—were circumstances which conspired together to make the Tories look on him as a youth of great promise. Some of them indeed thought, that in him their cause had found a host. These pleasing expectations, however, were soon doomed to be in a great measure disappointed. The Reform Bill passed, and, like Othello, he found his occupation gone. He has still a seat in Parliament, but his patron

and party think he *sits* a great deal too much;—indeed he rarely speaks. He is undoubtedly a man of considerable talent; but is not qualified to speak on any abstruse or comprehensive question. His mind was never made to grapple with first principles. His *forte* lies in nibbling at the details of a measure. He is a good speaker, and has always an abundance of high-sounding words at command. In person he is tall and slender. His complexion is dark, and his features large and marked. When he now speaks, he generally gives the House a second edition, with alterations and additions, of some article which appeared the same or previous day in the *Morning Post*, to which journal he is well known to be a stated contributor of "leaders." Indeed, he is very generally supposed to be one of the salaried editors. He, however, denies it; and no one has a right, in the absence of contrary proof, to discredit his word.

Mr. C. W. W. Wynn, the member for Montgomeryshire, ought not to be passed over in a notice of the Tory party. In person he is of the middle size, rather, if anything, inclined to corpulency. He has a round face, is of dark complexion, and slightly pitted with the small-pox. His hair was formerly dark, but is now beginning to turn grey. He is in his sixtieth year. His voice is more

extraordinary than that of any honourable member in the house. I shall never forget how singularly it sounded in my ears the first time I heard the right honourable gentleman speak. It is impossible to describe it. You would sometimes think that the sound proceeded from the back of his head, instead of from his mouth. He often falls into so screeching a tone as to impair the articulation of the word altogether; for he does not pitch his voice at a very high key. He has, besides, an indescribable sort of lisp by which he mars the correct pronunciation of almost every word. For example, if he were to commence his speech as follows—"I rise, Sir, for the purpose of asking the," &c. he would pronounce it thus:—"I rithe, ther, for the purpothe of athking the," &c. And yet, when once the ear is accustomed to his curious delivery, it is by no means unpleasant. He makes great professions of liberality; but he is at bottom a genuine Tory of the Ultra school. He has some intellect, though not so much as he takes credit for. He often takes the common-sense view of questions not immediately bearing on party objects; but at other times he is quite unintelligible. I have known him speak for an hour at a time, and would have defied any man to say which side of the question he was advocating. His speech, in 1834,

on the question of the propriety of admitting Dissenters to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, was a case in point. On that occasion he seemed as much lost in history, religion, and politics, as Milton's angels were in the "wandering mazes" of "fixed-fate, free-will, fore-knowledge absolute." Several members inquired of each other, when he sat down, which side he was for. He is never at a loss for words, but his matter is insufferably prosy. His sentences are correctly constructed without the least glimmering of eloquence ever struggling through them. He speaks often, and is seldom listened to with much attention.

Lord MAHON is a young nobleman from whom the Tories expect great things. His Lordship is certainly a man of some promise, though not half so much as his party set him down for. He is member for Hertford. He is very young, being only in his thirty-third year. He is in person rather below the middle size, and is of slender make. He is of fair complexion, with something of a feminine cast of countenance. His manner when speaking is easy and unassuming. He makes no effort to shine as an orator. He has neither animation in his elocution, nor does he use any gesture. He pitches his voice at a certain key—neither too high nor too low; and goes through

and finishes his speech in the same tone as he began. His manner is pleasant, and his voice grateful to the ear. He excels in giving a statement of facts and turning them to the best account for his own view of a question. The best speech I have heard him make, was in the beginning of June this year, when he moved for the production of papers relative to the Order in Council authorizing the fitting out in this country of an expedition to Spain. Lord Mahon does not speak often, but when he does he is always listened to with much respect and attention. He is understood to be a personal favourite of the Duke of Wellington.

I now come to decidedly the most curious personage, all things considered, in the House—whether on the Tory, Neutral, Whig, or Radical side. Honourable members will guess whom I mean. I think I hear them with one accord pronouncing the name of Colonel SIBTHORPE, the member for Lincoln. There is not a greater Tory than the gallant Colonel in the house; but the notoriety he possesses could never have been acquired by that circumstance alone; for though there are none greater, there are several as great. His eccentric manners have done a great deal to bring him into notice. He has all the singularity, all the horror of Liberal principles, much of the attachment to Toryism,

and a great deal of the humour, of Sir Charles Wetherell, though without a particle of his talent. Even all this, however, would never have secured to him his surpassing notoriety. It is his physiognomy, embellished as it is by his whiskers and moustachios, that has clearly made him what he is. Denude him of these—apply a razor or a pair of scissors to his face, commencing the operation at one ear and ending with the other,—and the gallant Colonel would be nothing—not even a personage at whose expense a joke might be innocently enjoyed. He would in that case be like Sampson shorn of his strength, when cropped by the Philistines.

Colonel Sibthorpe's countenance is altogether unique. It stands out in broad relief from the countenances of all the other members. Two or three other senators rejoice in tufts, and a few more in whiskers of decent proportions; but compared with the moustachios and whiskers of the gallant Colonel, one feels indignant that they should be dignified by the name. The lower section of his face, drawing a straight line from ear to ear, immediately under his nose, is one dense forest of hair. Had Dominie Sampson been fated to witness the whiskers and moustachios of the gallant Colonel, he would have exclaimed "Prodigious!" for hours

together. You hardly know whether he has a mouth or not—it is so completely buried amidst the surrounding crop of hair—until he begins to speak. He is extremely proud of his whiskers and moustachios. He would do and suffer a great deal for his party and principles; but rather than submit to be shaved, he would see Tories, Toryism, Constitution, and all, scattered to the four winds. As already hinted, the gallant Colonel's countenance is not of the most prepossessing kind, and yet, in defiance of the maxim that "they who live in houses of glass should take care not to throw stones," he has a sort of *penchant* for finding fault with the countenances of others. Immediately after the dissolution of Sir Robert Peel's Ministry, he let loose on the Ministerial side of the House in the following strain;—

"These honourable gentlemen opposite (the new Ministry) will require at least three months before they are what is called comfortable in their offices —(Cheers and laughter)—and before they could enter and sit upon their new and, as he trusted they would always be to them, thorny seats—(Renewed cheers and laughter). When he saw those twenty-three gentlemen now going to enter the lists like racing horses, but not like horses of true mettle, but like splintered, spavined, broken-winded racers —(Great laughter), with not a single sound one

amongst them—(Renewed laughter); when he saw such a state of things, and the country in such a condition, he must protest against a motion in every respect so unjustifiable. He was no party man—he had never acted from party feelings; but he must say he did not like the *countenances* of honourable gentlemen opposite—(Loud laughter)—for he believed them to be the index to their minds—(Continued laughter). He would only say in conclusion, that he earnestly hoped that God would grant the country a speedy deliverance from such a band—(Shouts of laughter)."

Mr. O'Connell, in reply, said "He would not quarrel with the observations of the gallant Cololonel; they were delivered with so much good humour, and were like every thing that fell from him, couched in the language of gentlemanly politeness —(Laughter). But on one point at least he must differ from the gallant Colonel. They who sat on that (the Ministerial side of the House) certainly had not such remarkable countenances as that of the gallant Colonel—(Peals of laughter). He would not abate the gallant Colonel a *single hair* (Renewed laughter) in point of good humour on that or any other occasion."

Considered as a speaker, it is no easy matter to describe the gallant Colonel. Sometimes he deli-

vers himself in so low and indistinct a tone as to be inaudible to all but those immediately around him; at others, he makes himself heard in the remotest part of the house. Sometimes he is full of fun, calling into full play the risible faculties of his auditors; at others he has all the solemnity of a Daniel come to judgment. When in the former mood, he is remarkably well pleased with himself and his jokes; when in the latter, you would take it for granted that he fancies the world is come to an end. When in a funny humour his right arm is put into great requisition; he beats the air with it in all directions, but chiefly above his head. In his left hand there is always a roll of papers confusedly put together, just as if he had caught them floating in the water, when he was in the act of drowning. In his more pathetic moments he looks the very incarnation of seriousness, and puts himself into every conceivable variety of attitude. He turns his face from one part of the house to another, as if his body sat on a pivot, and were whirled round, not by a mere act of mental volition, but by some external application of force. A better specimen of the mock heroic you could not wish to see than that afforded by the gallant Colonel when in his graver moods. He is woefully deficient in judgment: if there be a right and a wrong side of any

subject, he is sure to adopt the wrong one. Indeed there are some honourable members who seek no better proof of the right side of a question, than to know that the gallant Colonel is on its opposite. He has, as already hinted, little intellect. If he does stumble by accident on a tolerable idea, it is like an oasis in a desert of nonsense. His voice has a sort of unearthly shrillness about it which cannot be described by words. He scarcely ever opens his mouth without exciting the laughter of the House. Honourable members generally attempt to put him down when they expect from him a speech of any length, but seldom with effect. On such occasions he stands quite cool and collected, looking at the papers in his hand until the vociferations of hon. gentlemen opposite, as he always calls them, begin to die away from sheer exhaustion on the part of the performers. In his serious moods he is a bore to his own party, as well as an infliction on the House generally. They would give any price to purchase his silence, but it is not to be purchased. He *will* speak. He never makes a very long speech, because he cannot; a quarter of an hour is the utmost length of time I ever knew him occupy the speaker's attention on any occasion; but then the mischief is, he speaks on every subject, and when the rules of the House allow it,—in other

words, when the House is in Committee,—it is no unusual thing for him to make fifteen or twenty speeches in one night.

It is but justice to the gallant Colonel to add, that he is good tempered. He seems to have no personal resentments—no vindictive feelings towards any honourable member. His hostility is towards the principle, not towards the person holding it. Hence, he does not offend, by any personalities, those on the opposite side of the house. I am sure the feeling in the house generally would be one of regret, where he to share the fate of his friend and prototype, Sir Charles Wetherell—that is, be excluded from it.

The Marquis of CHANDOS, member for Buckinghamshire, is a nobleman of very great influence among the agricultural members in the House, as well as among the farmers throughout the country. He is called, by way of eminence, the Farmer's Friend. He is worthy of the title. The interests of the agriculturalists are ever uppermost in his mind. In many instances he has been known to sacrifice his own private interests and justifiable ambition, solely from a regard to the interests of the farmers as a body. It is well known to honourable members of all parties, though not generally known in the country, that rather than ac-

cept office when Sir Robert Peel's Administration was formed, on the condition of throwing the agriculturalists overboard by putting off the motion which he had engaged to bring forward for a repeal of the Malt Tax, he preferred continuing a private member. This was a sacrifice to principle which few men of any party in the House would, under the circumstances, have made; for he could have had no difficulty of finding a pretext, from the state of parties, or something else, for postponing it from time to time until the session had come to a close. He, however, with his characteristic integrity and straightforwardness of conduct, refused to accept office on any terms of which his own conscience did not approve, though it was well known he would otherwise have been delighted to have been associated in office with a Conservative Ministry. He is chiefly known in the house and the country by his speeches in favour of the agricultural interest. He is a West-India proprietor, and before the emancipation of the slaves in our colonial possessions, took a distinguished part in all proceedings in the house bearing directly on the West-India question. The colonists, indeed, committed their interests in the house to him. He was their acknowledged representative, and displayed uncommon zeal, blended with considerable talent, in their

favour. But since that question has been set at rest he has almost exclusively applied himself to the consideration of the best means of relieving the farmers from their burdens, and affording protection to the agricultural interest. He seldom speaks on any other subject, but never misses an opportunity of speaking on that when the question before the house will admit of it. A more vigilant, zealous, or faithful friend the farmers could not have. He is, as I have already said, a nobleman of considerable talent. He acquits himself, when addressing the House, in a very creditable manner. His voice is not strong, but it is audible and pleasant. He speaks with considerable fluency, and is always clear and forcible in his reasoning. No one can mistake his positions, or fail to perceive the arguments by which he endeavours to establish them. There is nothing ornamental or artificial in his style or manner. In fact, he has no ambition to shine as a mere stringer of rounded periods together: he quite forgets himself—I cannot say as much of many others, both of the Tory and Liberal party—in the intensity of the interest he feels in his subject. He does not usually speak long; but there is always a great deal of matter in what he does say.

In person, the Marquis of Chandos is a little

above the usual stature. He is a handsome gentlemanly-looking man. His features are small and regular, and have a prepossessing appearance. His complexion is dark, and his hair black. He has a fine forehead, and an intelligent as well as agreeable expression of countenance. He is in his forty-first year, and is the only son of the Duke of Buckingham.

Of the Irish Tory members,—I mean those who are distinguished for the share they take in the discussion of measures bearing directly on the well-being of Ireland,—Mr. F. Shaw, the Recorder of Dublin, and member for the University of that city, stands not only foremost, but in a great measure alone. He is now in his thirty-sixth year. He has hardly realized the expectations which, on his first entrance on public life, his friends formed of the glory of his future career; still he has acquitted himself in a very creditable manner. He possesses more than respectable talents, though by no means talents of a high order. He invariably speaks on those occasions in which the conduct of the Orange or Protestant party, is made the subject of debate in the house. Of that party he is, indeed, the accredited organ and advocate; nor could they have a more zealous champion. He always identifies his own opinions and interests with theirs. He is a

voluble speaker—cold and monotonous on ordinary topics, but violent, both in matter and manner, in the highest degree, when the Clergy, the Church, or the Orangemen are attacked. Then his energy of manners verges on the ludicrous. One can hardly refrain from laughter when they see a man work himself into such a towering passion. Take his word for it, and the very being, not of religion only, but of the Constitution of this country, and the civilization of the world, is indissolubly bound up with the Irish Church and the Irish Clergy in their present state. Usually he is listened to with attention by the House; with the few Irish Tory members he is an oracle; but judging from the frequency and cordiality of Colonel Sibthorpe's cheers, no one appreciates his oratory more highly than the gallant member for Lincoln. His orations are much more remarkable for their party zeal than for their eloquence. The only speech I ever heard him make, in which there was any thing like eloquence or superior talent, was one in defence of Baron Smith, in the Session of 1834, a few evenings after the House, by a majority of four, had censured the learned Baron for indulging in political party tirades when charging a jury previous to the trial of persons indicted for criminal offences. His speech was of an hour's duration. It commenced

at half-past twelve, and finished at half-past one. The house was full at the time. The tide of feeling, both within and without doors, had turned in favour of the learned Baron, and Mr. Shaw had consequently a willing audience. The lateness of the hour added to the effect of his speech, for it well accorded with the solemn emphatic strain in which he dwelt on the virtues, the advanced age, and the long course of public service of the person he defended. Mr. Shaw's elocution was, on that occasion, unusually distinct and correct, and there were a depth and fulness of tone in his voice which I never before or since observed in any of his oratorical efforts. In the course of his speech he violently arraigned the character of Mr. O'Connell, through whose instrumentality the House had been induced to censure the conduct of Baron Smith; and I must say, that his castigation of the honourable member for Dublin, on that occasion, was decidedly the most effective I ever saw him receive in the House. The result of the discussion was that the house rescinded its own resolution respecting the learned Baron.

Mr. Shaw is, in person, considerably above the middle size. He is a handsome man, though there is something of a feminine expression in his countenance. He has a well-formed projecting forehead.

His eyes, which are of a dark-blue colour, with large dark lashes, are full of fire and expression. His complexion is dark, and his hair jet black and bushy, like that of a negro. When he feels strongly in the way of disapprobation of any thing any honourable member is saying, he throws his head backwards, and occasionally looks towards the ceiling with an air of supreme disdain.

Sir Richard Vyvyan, the member for Bristol, was a great man among the Tories before the passing of the Reform Bill. Previous to that time he was hardly ever off his legs, when either the interests or the character of his party were involved; but since then he has hardly ever opened his mouth. The only speech, worthy the name, he made during the last session, was on the third reading of the Municipal Corporation Bill, which he most strenuously opposed. That speech revived the drooping spirits of the Tories. Sir Robert Peel's concession of the principle of the bill, coupled with his doubtful conduct on various questions for some time past, had well nigh caused them to resign themselves to despair, both as regarded their cause and their very existence as a party; and as matters had reached a crisis, they looked around for a new leader who "would go the whole hog." The speech of Sir Richard Vyvyan was of

a character which, with his respectable debating talents, could not fail to make them turn their eyes towards him. He was for boldly and resolutely contesting every inch with the enemy. The smallest concession to them he denounced as treason to the Constitution. Sir Robert Peel was always anxious to see his way clearly; Sir Richard was prepared to rush blindly forward, utterly regardless of consequences. The ultra Tories therefore, had, in the middle of July, come to the determination of enlisting themselves under the leadership of Sir Richard, and renouncing all connexion with Sir Robert, when, all of a sudden, a new light broke in on the latter right hon. gentleman. He began to "guess," as an American would say, that the Lords would either so mangle the Municipal Corporation Reform Bill, as to compel the Commons to reject it, or that the Tithes Bill, tacked as the Appropriation Bill was to it, would be rejected altogether; and he saw, as the consequences, the resignation of Lord Melbourne's Ministry, the return of the Tories to power, and the dissolution of Parliament. The card, therefore, which he had now to play, was again to right himself with his party, and, with this view, he once more affected a boundless zeal for them and their cause. His motion for the division of the Tithes and Appro-

priation Bills, and his speech on that occasion, of nearly four hours' duration, had the intended effect. Sir Richard was shelved, at least for a time, and Sir Robert again became the acknowledged champion of the Tory host.

Sir Richard Vyvyan is a man of middle size. He is slenderly and delicately made. His countenance has something of a pensive cast about it, and his complexion is rather sallow. He is only in his thirty-fourth year. He is a good speaker. His periods are rounded, and his voice and manner pleasant. He speaks with much fluency, and, occasionally, with considerable effect; but I doubt if he have the energy of character and versatility of talent necessary to constitute an efficient leader of his party.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NEUTRAL PARTY.

LORD STANLEY—SIR JAMES GRAHAM—MR. F. G. YOUNG—MR. ROBINSON—MR. WALTER.

At the beginning of the last session the Neutral Party, or the "Section," as Mr. O'Connell facetiously termed it, in consequence of Lord Stanley having one evening spoken of the place whence he addressed the House, as a section of the House,—was one of considerable importance both as to talent and numbers. It was difficult to estimate its numbers with any degree of accuracy at the time, because some who belonged to it pretended to be the supporters of the Whigs; and others identified themselves with it only until they should see whether the Tory or Liberal interest would triumph in the House. By some it was supposed that, during the first four weeks of the session, the Neutral party numbered from thirty to forty adherents. Be this as it may, the number soon began to dwindle

down to a mere handful, and before the end of July, though some hon. members still claimed the credit of strict neutrality between Whigs and Tories, the party was virtually extinct. The great body of them went openly over to the Tories, not by their speeches and votes only, but even as regarded their seats in the house. At first, and for three or four months, the majority of the Neutrals sat at the farthest end of the Ministerial side of the House—that part better known in the old house as the cross or neutral benches; but eventually they went over to the Tory or Opposition side, and, with one or two exceptions, took their seats amongst the most ultra of the Tory members. Still, two or three of them, on particular occasions, have since then voted with Government, and in opposition to their own party.

The leading members of the Neutral party are Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, Mr. F. G. Young, Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Walter.

Lord STANLEY, eldest son of the Earl of Derby, is a young man. He is only in his thirty-fifth year. In person he is rather above the middle size; his complexion is fair, and his hair red. There is something peculiar in the conformation of his face. His eyes are small and have a blintering appearance, but are full of expression. I forget which of the ancient philoso-

phers it was who said that the eyes are the windows of the soul: the remark holds pre-eminently true in the case of Lord Stanley. His eyes indicate much of that mental acuteness and hot and hasty temperament which are so characteristic of the man. When rising to reply to some personal attack, I have often seen them flashing with such visible indignation, and so indicative of the tumultuous passions which agitated his bosom, that the dullest physiognomist could not have mistaken the nature of the speech about to be delivered. His face is round but small, and full of primness. There is nothing particularly intellectual in its general expression. He seems always out of temper, and his countenance does not in this respect do him injustice. The least thing excites and irritates him. I do not recollect that he ever made a single speech of any length, and on any subject of importance, without betraying more or less of that ill-temper by which he is characterized. He cannot separate the person from his principles or arguments. In attacking the latter, he invariably attacks the former also. He possesses however, this redeeming quality, that the moment he has resumed his seat he ceases to entertain any unfriendly feeling towards the person of whom he may have spoken so harshly. He is not vindictive; he does not cherish rooted

resentments, excepting in cases of peculiar provocation. On the contrary, when the excitement of the moment is over, he is fully sensible of, and deeply regrets his infirmity of temper. It is well understood among the members of the House of Commons, that for weeks and months after his celebrated speech on his secession from the Grey Administration, when he accused the Government of which he had been four years a member, of thimble-rig, or legerdemain practices,—he most deeply regretted the indiscretion, and the wretched taste and still more reprehensible feeling which the language he then made use of evinced; and it is equally well known, that, soon after, he wrote a letter to Earl Grey, expressive of his hearty concern that he should have given utterance to such language, and begging the noble Earl to accept his most sincere apology for it. As no man is more severe or pointed in his allusions to others, so no man smarts more sensibly, or is more impatient, under the castigation of an opponent. And when thus agonizing under the sarcasms or ridicule of an adversary, his usual practice is to sit with his head almost buried between his knees, under the pretext of reading some Parliamentary Papers. At intervals, when touched on some peculiarly sensitive part, he rises and interrupts the member who

is speaking, even when strictly in order and using the most temperate language. This habit has grown much on him of late. Formerly it was confined to allusions to himself or to his arguments; now it is extended to anything contrary to his opinions, even though he has taken no part in the debate, if he chance to be in an unusually irascible mood at the time of these improper interruptions. He was often on this account called to order in the course of last session.

Lord Stanley is a most dexterous debater. He is remarkably quick in detecting the weak points of an adversary, and equally happy and effective in exposing them. He is one of the most fluent speakers in the house; always correct, often eloquent in his language. His great defect as a debater, is a frequent repetition of the same thing. I have known him in the course of eight or ten minutes, repeat the same argument three or four times. If he do not reach the highest flights of genius; if there be nothing in his ideas which startle you by their originality or brilliancy, or which, whether right or wrong, carries you away captive wherever he chooses to lead you, so, on the other hand, he never descends to common-places. You are always pleased with him: you cannot but admire his acuteness, and though not perhaps convinced that he is on the right side of the question,

yet you cannot satisfactorily and immediately answer him. His *forte* lies in reply. He does not appear to advantage in making a set and carefully prepared speech; in that case, he is deficient in his usual animation and energy of manner. He acquits himself best when he rises on the spur of the moment, and under strong feelings of excitement; for it singularly enough happens, that the more he is excited, the acuter and happier does he become in his replies. His voice is clear and sweet: it has something of a tenor tone. His enunciation is correct and pleasing, though unusually rapid. He never hesitates, and very seldom recals a word to replace it by a better. His ideas flow on him much faster than he can give them utterance. He does not use much gesticulation. He has generally a roll of paper in his right hand, with which, at short intervals, after raising it as high as his head, he pats the palm of his left.

I never knew a man who fell in the estimation of the House so rapidly as Lord Stanley has lately done. When a member of Earl Grey's Ministry, he commanded the respect and homage of all parties. His influence and popularity, even with those who differed from him in political opinion, were very great. Though he spoke much more frequently than any other member, with the single

exception, perhaps, of Lord Althorp and Mr. Hume, the House never shewed the least indisposition to hear him; on the contrary, all was anxiety and attention whenever he rose. The same feeling was entertained to him for some time after his secession from Lord Grey's Government, because he got credit for being actuated by conscientious scruples in taking that step. The first thing that damaged him was the "thimble-rig" speech, as it has since been called, to which I have already alluded. Since then he has been gradually losing his importance, and is now comparatively nothing. How different the Lord Stanley of 1835, from the Mr. Stanley of 1833! "Oh! how fallen!"

Sir JAMES GRAHAM is in much the same position as Lord Stanley. He seceded from Earl Grey's Government at the same time, and from the same cause, and has adopted the same line of conduct ever since, as Lord Stanley. They not only share in each other's sentiments on political questions, and have of late pursued the same line of conduct, but they are bosom friends. They are always to be seen together when in the house—generally speak on the same questions—and, however many nights the debate may chance to be adjourned, they also, in most cases, speak on the same night. They are brothers in adversity; and seem

resolved to stick close to each other in their reverses. Sir James Graham is one of the stoutest men in the house. Washington Irving might have applied to him, with great propriety, the epithet of "stout gentleman." I should think he must weigh a full half stone more than any other member in the house. He is well made; has a fine full round face, and appears in excellent health. His complexion is ruddy, and his hair dark. His apostacy from his former principles is more marked than even that of Lord Stanley, inasmuch as he was much more liberal —radical would be a better word—than that noble Lord. Some of the speeches he delivered in August 1830, immediately after the French revolution, were the most violent that ever escaped the lips of an Englishman. Dr. Wade's Radicalism, compared with them, was moderation itself. And even so late as 1832, on the struggle immediately preceding the passing of the Reform Bill, the Cumberland Baronet was so furious and extreme in his Liberalism as to be the god of the idolatry of the Radicals. All at once, however, he went over to the Tory party, whom he now supports with as much ardour as he formerly displayed on the other side. He is a man of superior, though certainly not of first-rate talent. He is generally clear in his reasonings, and can make out a plausible case. His

style is plain and perspicuous, with very little ornament. His manner of delivery is rapid and easy. His voice has something of a hard sound, and yet is by no means unpleasant. It is equable in its tones; there is hardly ever the slightest variation in it, whatever be the subject. His enunciation is distinct, and his action unpretending. Indeed he has very little gesticulation of any kind. He is always on remarkably good terms with himself, and hardly concealed from his friends that he entertained the conviction, that his secession from the Grey Ministry would be the sealing of its doom. He probably fancied that his Atlasian shoulders bore the heavy load, and that the moment he withdrew from it, down it would come in a mass of ruins. His present position is a most unpleasant one to himself. He is mortified beyond measure at his exclusion from office; not that he would accept a seat in the Cabinet of Lord Melbourne, with its Church Property Appropriation principles; but it is to him incomprehensible, and galling in the highest degree, that the Melbourne Administration should not, by the power of his eloquence, have been long since scattered to the winds of heaven, "leaving not a wreck behind," and a new one formed under his and Lord Stanley's auspices. Sir James is in his forty-third year.

Mr. F. G. YOUNG, the member for Tynemouth, though not ostensibly identifying himself with the Stanley party, co-operated with them during the greater part of last session. No man prides himself more on his independence, nor does any member so frequently boast of his being an "independent man." It must be admitted there is much truth in the boast; for he is to be seen by turns voting on every side of the House; sometimes with Lord Melbourne's Government, on what are called party questions, though perhaps oftener against them. In the first part of last session, and until near its close, he joined the "Section" in supporting Peel's Ministry on the Church Property Appropriation question; but having had occasion to visit Ireland for two or three weeks in June, and being convinced, from what fell under his own observation when there, that the existing distribution of Church Property in Ireland was a fruitful source of her evils and misery, he manfully retracted his former opinions, and openly and cordially supported Lord Melbourne's Government in their Irish Church and Tithes Bills.

Mr. Young is a good-looking man. His face is full of intelligence, and his speeches show that he is well-informed. In person he is above the middle size. He is about forty years of age; his hair is

dark, and his complexion fair. He speaks often; but his ablest displays are on subjects connected with Free Trade and the Shipping interests. He is a decided advocate for commercial restrictions in our intercourse with foreign countries. His statistical details are given with remarkable clearness, even in cases of a very complicated nature, and his reasonings are close, though sometimes his ideas are overloaded with verbiage. He is one of the most rapid speakers I ever heard, and yet his language is correct, though not in the strict sense of the term, eloquent. He speaks with much ease, and notwithstanding the amazing rapidity of his utterance, scarcely ever has to recall a word to replace it by a better. No reporter can follow him; he speaks so very rapidly, as sometimes to pronounce four or five words as if all one word. In the session of 1834, I recollect hearing him, when addressing the House on a motion he had brought forward relative to the shipping interests, pronounce the words "Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, Russia," as if one word, and certainly in as short a time as an ordinary speaker would take to pronounce one of them. His voice is clear and distinct. It has a tenor tone, and is remarkable for its equability. He has no command over it; whatever be the subject he speaks in the same key He is a pleasant speaker,

and is listened to with attention by the House. He is a man of respectable talents, and is an expert debater; but he has no large or comprehensive views of any great question; nor does he ever give utterance to any striking or original ideas. He sits with the Tories on the Opposition side of the House.

Mr. ROBINSON, the member for Worcester, is chiefly known by his peculiar notions and speeches on the question of a Property Tax. He makes an annual motion for a Select Committee to inquire into the expediency and propriety of substituting a Property Tax in the place of our present system of taxation. On this question he is quite at home, and goes through intricate details connected with it with great ease and facility. He also takes part on subjects bearing on the question of Free Trade; but does not often speak on the more general topics which come before the House. In person he is about the middle size. His hair is dark, and his complexion somewhat sallow. He is of a full round face, having a tendency to corpulency. He has been a long time in Parliament. His age is about forty-five. He is not an attractive speaker; his matter is heavy, and his manner wants animation. He does not command much attention in the house. When he brings forward the ques-

tion of a Property Tax, he has generally to address himself to empty benches. His audience if "fit," are "few:" they seldom exceed fifty or sixty. When he brought forward his annual motion last session, there were not more than forty or fifty members present. His speeches on these occasions usually occupy from two to three hours in the delivery. He is one of the many orators in the house whose ears are never regaled with the sweet music of a cheer. Since the re-accession of Lord Melbourne to power, Mr. Robinson has sat on the Opposition side of the house amidst his Tory friends.

Mr. WALTER, member for Berkshire, is hardly entitled to notice on account of his parliamentary status; but his lengthened connexion with the *Times* newspaper, and the influence he was known to exercise over the line of politics that journal pursued, taken in conjunction with the circumstance of his having altered his line of conduct in Parliament, at the same time as it changed his politics,—has brought his name somewhat prominently before the public of late. He is considerably advanced in life, being now in his sixty-first year. He is a man of venerable appearance, and is about the middle size. Considering his age, he looks well; his hair is white, and his complexion fair. He speaks very seldom, and when he does so it is

only for a few minutes at a time. His voice has something of a hard and husky tone; he makes no attempt at fine speaking. His style is plain and clear, and his manner unassuming. He scarcely uses any gesture. His matter has generally the merit of being impregnated with much good sense, but there is nothing striking or original about it. He is a man of excellent private character, and is much respected by all who know him. In his capacity of a country magistrate, he has done infinite good for the poor. He was the last of the Neutral party who forsook the Ministerial side of the house after the accession of the present Government. It was this circumstance that led Mr. O'Connell, on the second reading of the Irish Church Bill, to make his singularly happy quotation of part of a popular song as applicable to Mr. Walter, which made so much noise at the time. Mr. O'Connell, looking on the Ministerial side for Mr. Walter, but not seeing him there, was about to express his regret that he was not in the house, when, on casting his eye on the Opposition side, he observed him sitting in the midst of his "Neutral" friends; on which he exclaimed in his own inimitable style, "Oh, the honourable member has also gone over! While sitting by himself on this (the Ministerial) side of

the house, he was 'like the last rose of Summer' "—(Shouts of laughter).

> " Like the last rose of summer left blooming alone,
> All its lovely companions being faded and gone."

It is impossible to convey any idea of the effect which this produced. Mr. Walter's personal friends could not refrain from joining in the loud peals of laughter which burst from all parts of the house, and even he himself enjoyed the harmless but happy raillery. After that morning, for the circumstance occurred at three o'clock, he resumed his seat, till the end of the Session, on the Ministerial side: whether this was the effect of Mr. O'Connell's felicitous allusion, or whether Mr. Walter had only that evening gone over to the Tory side of the house by accident, I cannot say.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LIBERAL PARTY.—LATE MEMBERS.

MR. HENRY HUNT—MR. THOMAS MACAULAY—LORD ALTHORP—MR. CHARLES GRANT—MR. ROBERT GRANT — MR. JEFFREY—COLONEL TORRENS—MR. COBBETT.

I BEGIN with Mr. HUNT, because he was the first of those I am about to name that ceased to be a member of the House of Commons. His parliamentary career was short: it only extended to two sessions. It commenced at a time it might naturally have been least expected, and closed when it might rather have been expected to begin. He was chosen by the electors of Preston before Parliament was reformed; when reform was carried into effect, he was not re-elected by them, nor chosen by any other constituency. He was altogether a singular man. It is no easy matter to give a satisfactory estimate of his character. He had something of the caprice of Mr. Cobbett, and a good deal of his irritable temper: but in intellect or information he could not be for a moment com-

pared with the member for Oldham. Mr. Hunt was not a man of much mind. He was unfitted for grappling with any great question. He never took an original view of any subject; and was altogether incapable of close and ingenious reasoning. He held certain principles of the most liberal kind, and had at his fingers' ends most of the principal arguments which other persons had urged in their favour. When these were exhausted, so were his means of vindicating his principles. His style was not good; it was rough and disjointed. What he excelled in was ready wit: he had few equals in this respect. All parties in the house, not even excepting the most ultra-radicals themselves, laboured hard to cough him down whenever he attempted to speak. It was on these occasions that he generally gave the most striking proofs of his wit. Nothing could disconcert him: the greater the uproar his rising to speak caused in the house, the more did he enjoy it. That was to him a luxury of the most exquisite kind. The fact was, he had been formed for scenes of confusion, and had all his life long been accustomed to them at the meetings of his Radical disciples; hence they came to him quite naturally. In many of his repartees there was great point. One honourable member, on one occasion when Mr. Hunt was speaking, was unusually per-

severing in his efforts to cough him down. Mr. Hunt cured the honourable gentleman of his cough by one short sentence, which, delivered as it was with infinite dramatic effect, created universal laughter. Mr. Hunt put his hand into his pantaloons' pocket, and after fumbling about for a few seconds, said with the utmost imaginable coolness, that he was extremely sorry to find that he had not a few lozenges in his pocket for the benefit of the honourable member, who seemed to be so distressed with the cough, but he could assure him he would provide some for him by next night. Never did doctor prescribe more effectually: not only did Mr. Hunt's tormentor from that moment get rid of his cough, but it never returned, at least while Mr. Hunt was speaking.

His manner was as bad as his diction. It had no gracefulness in it. His gesture was awkward, and his voice was harsh and croaking. The bad effect produced by the latter was aggravated by a strongly marked provincial accent.

In bodily stature he was tall and corpulent. His person was clumsily formed; at any rate it appeared so; but this may have been partly owing to a carelessness in his dress. His face, like his body, was fat and large. He had a double chin. His complexion was fair, with a fresh, healthy glow about it.

He had light hair, and, though sixty years of age, at the time of which I am speaking, had not the slightest baldness. He died in two or three years after he ceased to be a member. He was regular in his attendance on his legislative duties; and I have no doubt, that at his time of life, and with his corpulency of frame, that circumstance hastened his days.

Mr. Thomas Macaulay, late member for Leeds, and now a Member of Council in India, could boast of a brilliant, if not a very long parliamentary career. He was one of those men who at once raised himself to the first rank in the Senate. His maiden speech electrified the House, and called forth the highest compliments to the speaker from men of all parties. He was careful to preserve the laurels he had thus so easily and suddenly won. He was a man of shrewd mind, and knew that if he spoke often, the probability was, he would not speak so well; and that consequently there could be no more likely means of lowering him from the elevated station to which he had raised himself, than frequently addressing the House. In this he was quite right, for he had no talents for extempore speaking. I have seen him attempt it—only, however, when forced to it by the situation he held under Government—on several occasions; but in every such in-

stance, he acquitted himself very indifferently. He never made above three or four speeches in the course of a Session—sometimes not so many,—and these were always on questions involving some great principle of politics or justice, and which commanded deep and universal attention at the time. His speeches were always most carefully studied, and committed to memory, exactly as he delivered them, beforehand. He bestowed a world of labour on their preparation; and, certainly, never was labour bestowed to more purpose. In every sentence you saw the man of genius—the profound scholar—the deep thinker—the close and powerful reasoner. You scarcely knew which most to admire—the beauty of his ideas, or of the language in which they were clothed. His diction was faultless; his matter was strongly imbued with the spirit of what, for want of a better expression, I would call the poetry of philosophy. He was, in this respect, the same man in the house as he was when penning such articles for the *Edinburgh Review* as his celebrated one on the genius and writings of Milton. He was an excellent speaker withal—not forcible or vehement, carrying you away, as it were, by force; but seducing you, taking you a willing captive, if I may so speak, by his dulcet tones and engaging manner, wherever he chose to go. Time after

time has the House listened to him as if entranced.

His personal appearance is prepossessing. In stature he is about the middle size, and well formed. His eyes are of a deep blue, and have a very intelligent expression. His complexion is dark, and his hair of a beautiful jet black. His face is rather inclined to the oval form. His features are small and regular. He is now in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

Lord ALTHORP, now Earl SPENCER, was the leader of the House of Commons during the whole period of the existence of Earl Grey's Ministry, and also during the short duration of the first Administration of Lord Melbourne. He was one of the worst speakers in the House, and it was the subject of general wonder, notwithstanding his excellent private character, and the influence and respectability of his family connexions, that he should ever have been put forward as the leader of the Ministerial party. It was a truly melancholy spectacle to see him vindicating Government, when, in the progress of the Irish Coercion Bill of 1833 through the House, that Government was assailed by Messrs. O'Connell, Shiel, and other members of the Radical party. He was a mere plaything in their hands. He could not put three or four

sentences together without stammering, and recalling his words over and over again, and even when he had given his sentences the last touch, there was as much room for improvement as ever. He was not a man of very great mental capacity. His information was not extensive; nor was he capable of turning to good account the little stock he possessed. He had a tolerably sound judgment, which made him generally take the common-sense view of a subject; and I have sometimes been struck with the cleverness of some of his replies to an opponent; but then the effect was sure to be marred by the way in which he stammered out the reply. He never gave birth to an original idea in his life; nor did he ever utter an eloquent expression. Still, with all his faults as a speaker, he was much esteemed by men of all parties in the house. He was so excessively good-natured, so simple and inoffensive in his manner, that it was impossible for any one, however much he might differ from him in sentiment, not to respect him. Nothing could make him lose his temper. In the most violent altercations, and greatest scenes of uproar and confusion that took place in the house, there he stood, motionless as a statue,—his face shadowing forth the most perfect placidness of mind. His articulation was slow, and he always spoke

in so low a tone, that it was often impossible to hear him at any distance. Never did the reporters represent any member as being "very imperfectly heard in the gallery," with greater truth than they did him. No class of persons could have greater reason to rejoice at his elevation to the Peerage than they had. It was often matter of surprise how they were able to give reports of his speeches at all. That they were able to do it so correctly, showed their quickness of perception and their general intelligence. In personal appearance Lord Althorp is short and corpulent. His frame is remarkably compact, and must, one would think, be capable of enduring great fatigue. He is pot-bellied, and unusually round in the face. His complexion is florid. He has all the indications of good health about him. In the expression of his countenance there is nothing remarkable; it is soft and stupid-like, rather than shrewd or intelligent. He usually wears a black coat, cassimere breeches, and a light cassimere waistcoat. The latter is always double-breasted, and in the hottest weather, when other members were within a few degrees of suffocation, he was, when in the House of Commons, invariably buttoned up close to his chin, just as if he had been wintering in the neighbourhood of the North Pole. His appearance altogether is exactly

that of a farmer, and his manners are remarkable for their unaffected simplicity. He looks younger than he is, his age being fifty-three.

Mr. Charles Grant, now Lord Glenelg, was a person of considerable consequence in the House, both because of his being a member of the Cabinet, and because of his qualifications for speaking. Few members could make a better speech when he prepared himself for the occasion. His reasoning was always ingenious and close, and his diction elegant—ofttimes poetical.* From beginning to end it was a pure, copious, uninterrupted flow of eloquence. There is something very sweet in his voice, though it be weak. His speeches were always listened to with the deepest attention, and hardly ever without the highest gratification, by the House. His utterance is rapid, but remarkably fluent. His gesture is graceful, and his

* Mr. Charles Grant is a poet, though not generally known as such. When at the University of Cambridge in 1806, he published a poem on the "Restoration of Learning in the East," which, considering that he was then a very young man, held out the most confident promises of future eminence as a poet. He did not, however, cultivate the poetic vein as he ought to have done. Indeed, after quitting Cambridge, he neglected it altogether, in so far as publication was concerned, though he is still understood to pay homage to the Muses in his more leisure moments.

manner altogether dignified and winning. His personal stature is that of the usual size; his form is slender. He is careless in his dress; his apparel is always of the best quality, but is hardly ever tolerably made. He seems to be one of those who like plenty of room in their clothes. His face is angular; his complexion is one of the fairest I ever saw, and his hair is white as the purest snow. His countenance has a very thoughtful expression. There are few men of a more studious disposition, though he spoke so seldom in the house. Though he does not go to bed before one or two o'clock, he generally rises at six. He is in his fifty-second year.

Mr. Robert Grant, formerly Judge Advocate, and member for Finsbury (now Governor of Bombay), is a brother of Mr. Charles Grant. He is an excellent speaker, and a man of great talents; but very indolent. He would only speak when the duties of his office compelled him to it. With the single exception of his speeches when prefacing his annual motion for the last few years for the emancipation of the Jews, he made few speeches latterly of any importance. His language, like his brother's, was always chaste and eloquent, and his manner graceful. He spoke with much fluency, and when prepared for the occasion, had hardly

ever to recall a word. When, however, he was under the necessity of speaking extempore, I have often seen him have great difficulty in getting through his speech in a tolerably creditable manner. His voice is highly musical, and capable of being modulated at pleasure. In person he is about the same height as his brother; but of a more robust constitution. His complexion is ruddy, his face full, and his hair of a pure white. Like his brother, he is a man of spotless private character, and was much respected by men of all parties. He is in his fiftieth year.

Mr. Francis Jeffrey,* then Lord Advocate of Scotland, was first returned to Parliament in 1831 for the burgh of Malton; afterwards he was twice elected for the city of Edinburgh. I never knew a parliamentary *debût* which was regarded with greater or more general interest, or respecting the success of which more confident expectations were entertained. He had, by means of the *Edinburgh Review*, which he had conducted from its commencement, not only brought about a complete revolution in periodical criticism, but had given a tone to the literature of the nineteenth century. He was called the Prince of Critics, and his critical supremacy was universally acknowledged. Some

* Now one of the Judges of the Court of Session.

of his composition—his articles on Taste, for example, which were written in reply to the Rev. Archibald Allison, were admitted by every competent judge, to be the most beautiful specimens of writing which had appeared in the English language. The parliamentary *debût*, therefore, of a man who had performed so distinguished a part on the literary stage, and who was still regarded as unrivalled in periodical criticism, could not fail to excite very deep and general interest; but that interest was greatly increased by the reputation he had acquired as a lawyer and speaker. At the Scottish bar, and at public meetings in Edinburgh, he knew no competitor as a speaker. When it was known that he was to speak at a public meeting on any important question, persons would flock from a circuit of twenty miles to hear him. The Scottish press knowing Mr. Jeffrey's distinguished reputation in his own country, as a public speaker, never dreamed that he might fail in the House of Commons, where the scene would not only be new to him, but where he would have to compete with persons possessing first-rate talents as public speakers, which he had never had to do in his own country. Hence the Scotch papers increased the interest with which his maiden effort in St. Stephen's was looked forward to, by paragraphs without number,

in which they confidently predicted that he would not only gratify, but electrify the House, by the brilliancy of his eloquence. It was expected that he would speak on some important question which stood for discussion the second or third night, I do not recollect which, after he took the oaths and his seat. The House was consequently filled in every part, and an unusual number of literary characters were in and under the gallery. In so far as their expectations relative to the mere circumstance of the Lord Advocate's speaking on that particular night were concerned, honourable members and strangers were not disappointed; as regarded the character and effect of his oratory, they were grievously so. He spoke for about an hour and twenty minutes; but the effort was a complete failure. His matter was refined and philosophical in the highest degree. It was nearly as unintelligible to the majority of his auditory as if he had spoken some most abstruse article, intended for the *Edinburgh Review*, in answer to Kant, or some of the other German metaphysicians. Of course, it made no impression, and produced no effect. Then, the amazing rapidity of his delivery operated much against the speech. I think I never heard a person, either in or out of the House, speak so fast as he did on that occasion. The most experienced short-hand re-

porters were unable to follow him; they mentioned the circumstance in the papers of the following morning, as a reason for not giving his speech at greater length. Members usually speak at the rate of two columns and a half of the *Times* newspaper in an hour. Had a *verbatim* report of what Mr. Jeffrey spoke in an hour, been given in that journal, it would have filled four of its columns. Yet notwithstanding the rapidity with which Mr. Jeffrey spoke on this occasion, he never so much as faltered once, nor recalled a word which he uttered, to substitute one more suitable for it. His language, indeed, was fluent and elegant in the extreme. His manner, too, was graceful, but it wanted variety. His voice was clear and pleasant; but it had no flexibility in its intonations. He continued and ended in much the same tones as he began. The same monotony characterized his gesticulation. He was cheered to some extent; but the applause was not so general, nor cordial, nor frequent, as to indicate a successful *debût*. In fact, he himself saw his maiden effort was a failure, and that there was all the difference in the world between the House of Commons, and the Waterloo Hotel, or Law-courts of Edinburgh. He never after volunteered a speech of any length. When he spoke, it was only when forced to it by his

office, and then always as briefly as possible. Latterly, he excited no more interest in the house than the least talented member. It was a great pity for his oratorical fame that he ever entered the house at all.

In person, Mr. Jeffrey is below the middle size, and slenderly made. There is something of a thoughtful expression in his countenance. His face is small and compact, rather, if any thing, inclining to the angular form. His eye-lashes are prominent. His forehead is remarkably low, considering the intellectual character of the man. His complexion is dark, and his hair black. He quitted parliament last year. His age is about fifty.

Colonel Torrens, late member for Bolton, was many years in the House of Commons. The principal cause of his rejection by his former constituents, at the last election, was his not "going the whole hog," as the phrase now is among the Radical party. He was one out of many candidates who, at that election, fell between the extreme parties; the Ultra-Radicals on the one hand, and the Ultra-Tories on the other. It is a curious anomaly, but it is a fact, that in various instances at the last election, and at the one which preceded it, Radicals voted for Tory candidates in preference to the Whig candidates, and Tories for

Radical candidates, in preference to the Whig candidates. And, if I do not much mistake the signs of the times, there will be many much more striking illustrations, in this respect, of extremes meeting, in the course of a few years. As a party, the Whigs, if not already extinct, are on a fair way of being so There will, ere long, be no moderate or middle party ; the Senate and the country will both be divided into two great parties—the Conservative and the Movement. Colonel Torrens, I believe, speaks *feelingly* on this subject. He is convinced that it will no longer do to ground his pretensions to the honour of representing any constituency on the principles of the old Whig school. He will argue from his own experience—generally a most convincing species of logic to one's-self, whatever it may be to others—that if a man would entertain any rational hope of being elected by any body of electors, where no personal considerations are allowed to weigh with those exercising the elective franchise,—he must be one thing or another ; either a Tory, or a Liberal in the most *liberal* acceptation of the term.

But the gallant Colonel's exclusion from Parliament, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, has led me into a slight digression. He was a man of some status in the House. He possesses

considerable talents, and often made very effective speeches. On all questions relating to the Currency, the Poor Laws, Emigration, and, indeed, Political Economy in general, he is well-informed. There were then, and there are now, but few Members more intimately conversant with these topics. He is a pretty good speaker, but would be a much better, were it not that there is something hard and unmusical about his voice. There is, too, a good deal of affectation and pomposity in his manner, which, of course, cannot be in his favour. He does not hesitate or seem to be at a loss for words wherewith to clothe his ideas, but his style is not very highly polished. He was generally listened to with attention in the House. He was a man of some importance, both on account of his talents, and his being the principal proprietor of the *Globe* newspaper, which was, during the whole period the Grey Ministry were in office, understood to be the accredited organ of that Government. It is generally understood, however, that the gallant Colonel has since disposed of his interest in that journal, and that he has now no further influence over its politics than that which the mere private respect entertained for his character by the conductors, may secure to him. Since his comparative retirement from public life, he has partly amused

himself with his favourite study of political economy. A few months since he published a large octavo work in vindication of the New Australian Company, of which he is one of the leading Directors, from an attack by a writer in the *Westminster Review*.

In person, the gallant Colonel is about the usual size. He has a finely proportioned figure, and a high and well-developed forehead. His whole physiognomy has an intellectual expression. His complexion is fair, and his hair something between a gray and white. He is considerably advanced in life, being near his sixtieth year. The precursors of coming old age are beginning to show themselves. Independently of the colour of his hair, there are slight furrows on his face. He sacrifices a good deal to the Graces. His appearance is gentlemanly and prepossessing.

I shall conclude my notice of the late members of the Liberal party, with a sketch of one who for the last forty years and upwards, has filled a larger space in the public eye than any other person in the lower or middle ranks of life. I allude to the late Mr. Cobbett. I chanced to meet with him in private a few days after the meeting of the Parliament of 1833, and consequently a few days after he had made his legislative *debût*. Like those sol-

diers who delight to fight all their battles o'er again, Mr. Cobbett repeated to me *verbatim*, the leading parts of his maiden speech in the house; and he did it with a zest and raciness I have never seen surpassed. He mentioned to me, that for the first time in his life he did feel a certain degree of tremor, when he first rose to address the House of Commons; but that it gradually wore off, and that before the conclusion of his speech, he felt almost as much self-possession as he ever did in delivering a public address. He ascribed the cause of his trepidation, partly to the circumstance of his addressing an assembly altogether different in their habits, education, manners, opinions, &c. from any he had ever before addressed; and partly because he knew that not only the eyes of the House were upon him, but the eyes of the whole country; for, he added, with that egotism which so largely pervades all his writings, that the people of the three kingdoms looked up to him as the only man that could save the country. Hence it will be seen that Mr. Cobbett's egotism was not, as some people supposed, merely affected; but that he believed he had all the merit he assumed, and also that the nation had as high an opinion of him as he himself entertained.

Mr. Cobbett was as happy at abusing an oppo-

nent in private conversation as in his *Political Register*. Indeed, judging from some specimens he afforded me, I should say he excelled himself, as a writer, in verbal vituperation. Of all the specimens of abuse I ever met with, either written or spoken, his abuse of Mr. Spring Rice, who had one evening incurred his displeasure, by denying in the House the truth of some statements he had made, was beyond comparison the richest and most hearty. This was in conversation with me a few days after Mr. Spring Rice had subjected himself to Mr. Cobbett's displeasure.

In the House of Commons, however, he was not at all in this respect the same man. There, he was, with very few slight exceptions, careful and measured in his language, when replying to an opponent. I attribute this in a great degree to the circumstance of Lord (then Mr.) Stanley having, soon after Cobbett's admission into Parliament, treated him with very great severity, in consequence of some coarse attack he had made on some friend of Mr. Stanley's: for it is a singular fact, that though Cobbett's very being seemed to be bound up in the practice of indulging in the grossest vituperation of others, there was no man who had a greater dread of being abused in return, than himself.

Mr. Cobbett's manner of speaking strongly resembled his mode of writing. His style was always plain, but vigorous. It was all bone and muscle. Every word was in its proper place; and there were no disjointed sentences. I never knew him indulge in a trope or a figure. You would have thought, from the extreme felicity and colloquial character of his language, that he was speaking to some private friend, instead of addressing "the first assembly of gentlemen in the world."

His utterance was slow and distinct. Perhaps there was no member in the House whose speeches it was so easy to report. His manner was almost invariably good-humoured and playful. No person who had heard him speak, could ever, without the most convincing proof, have believed that he was the author of the virulent and coarse abuse with which the pages of the *Register* abounded. His action was moderate and gentle. His voice was clear and pleasant, but was deficient in variety. Occasionally it had a sort of twang about it. He was not a noisy speaker. There was nothing of that energy about him as a speaker, which was the leading characteristic, and one of the greatest merits of his writings.

One of Mr. Cobbett's sons, in giving an account of his father's death, says he believes he would

have broken his heart if the people of Oldham had not elected him a second time. I can well credit this; for, from what he told myself, I have no doubt, that high at all times as was his own estimate of his merits and importance, it rose at least fifty per-cent. on his being first returned to Parliament. He mentioned to me that he had, since the publication, forty years ago, of his Letters under the signature of "Peter Porcupine," been the first man of the age; but then, he added, it is only now that the people have proved to me that they are of the same opinion. So dignified were his notions of being a member of Parliament, that he thought he had, by his return for Oldham, been elevated to a far higher sphere in society than he had before moved in. There was doubtless some justice in the opinion, though not half so much as he thought. He had, a few weeks before his election, returned from his tour through Scotland; and I remember him asking me, after he had become an M.P., whether I considered the pledge he had made the people of Scotland, of revisiting them the following year, to be, under the altered circumstances, still binding. His notion was, that though "lecturing" was a very respectable occupation for him before he was returned to Parliament, it would be a very undignified one after he had been raised to

that distinction; and on this conviction he acted, for he did not redeem his pledge of paying a second visit to the people of Scotland.

Mr. Cobbett was by no means attentive to his Parliamentary duties. He was not, after the middle of the first session, often in the house; and when he did attend, it was only for a very short time. This, however, it is right to add, was not from any defective views of his duty to his constituents and the country; but because he felt the close and heated asmosphere of the house not only unpleasant, but injurious to his health. It was most probably, owing to his previous enjoyment of much exercise in the open air, the cause of his death; for so sudden a change, at his advanced age, in a man's habits, could not but have been prejudicial in the highest degree to his constitution, more especially as he was of a corpulent frame. Mr. Hunt, I have no doubt, as already mentioned, also fell a sacrifice —for he also was advanced in life, and of a corpulent person—to the unhealthy atmosphere of the House of Commons. Cobbett seemed to have laid it down as a rule, never to remain in the house longer than ten o'clock: I do not remember his making more than three or four exceptions to this rule. The last one was on the night on which it was known that there would be a division on the question

of the Irish Church Appropriation Bill, brought in by Lord John Russell.

Mr. Cobbett did not speak often, and never long at a time. I do not recollect his ever having made a speech which occupied more than twenty or thirty minutes in the delivery, and very seldom indeed so much as that. On the passing of the Estimates in June last, he seemed to have been seized with an extraordinary love of speaking; for he made, on that evening, at least twenty speeches in opposition to particular grants in those estimates. The last speech he ever made, which was about three weeks before his death, was in reply to Sir Robert Peel, who opposed the motion of the Marquis of Chandos for a repeal of the Malt Tax. He was then so hoarse that not one word he said, though he spoke from fifteen to twenty minutes, could be heard half a dozen yards from the place at which he spoke; but he appeared in excellent spirits.

His reputation gained nothing by his admission into Parliament. It was generally expected he would have cut a figure in the house by means of his eccentricities, his prejudices, and talents combined; but the event proved there never was a more groundless expectation. He not only, as I have just mentioned, spoke very seldom, but when he did, he excited no interest whatever in the house. In one

word, his parliamentary career was a complete failure.

Mr. Cobbett, in personal stature, was tall and athletic. I should think he could not have been less than six feet, while his breadth was proportionally great. He was, indeed, one of the stoutest men in the house. I have said there was a tendency to corpulency about him. His hair was of a milk-white colour, and his complexion ruddy. His features were not strongly marked. What struck you most about his face was his small, sparkling, laughing eyes. When disposed to be humorous himself, you had only to look at his eyes and you were sure to sympathize in his merriment. When not speaking, the expression of his eyes and his countenance was very different. He was one of the most striking refutations of the principles of Lavater I ever witnessed. Never were the looks of any man more completely at variance with his character. There was something so dull and heavy about his whole appearance, that any one who did not know him, would at once have set him down for some country clodpole—to use a favourite expression of his own—who not only never read a book, or had a single idea in his head, but who was a mere mass of mortality, without a particle of sensibility of any kind in his composition. He usually

sat with one leg over the other, his head slightly drooping, as if sleeping, on his breast, and his hat down almost to his eyes. He sat on a particular seat for weeks in succession; but then would all of a sudden, and without any one knowing for what cause, change it for one in some other part of the house; perhaps one on the other side. I remember that on one of the evenings—the last I think—on which the Appropriation question was discussed, and the decision on which proved fatal to Sir Robert Peel's Administration, he went over from the Opposition side of the House to the Ministerial, and sat down at the back of Sir Robert, and in the very midst of the Tory party, where he remained the greater part of the night, to the very serious annoyance of Sir Robert and his colleagues, who could hardly exchange a word with each other lest it should be overheard by Cobbett. There never was a more striking illustration of the old adage about an enemy being in the camp. The circumstance afforded infinite amusement to the Liberal party, and proved a corresponding infliction to the Tories. Cobbett's usual dress was a light grey coat, of a full make, a white waistcoat, and kerseymere breeches of a sandy colour. When he walked about the house he generally had his hands inserted in his breeches pockets. Considering his advanced

age, seventy-three, he looked remarkably hale and healthy, and walked with a slow but firm step. A fortnight before his death, he thought himself—and so did all who saw him—that he was destined to live for many years to come.

CHAPTER X.

MEMBERS WHO HAVE SEATS IN THE CABINET.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL—MR. SPRING RICE—SIR JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE—LORD MORPETH—LORD HOWICK—MR. POULETT THOMSON—LORD PALMERSTON.

In speaking of the members of Lord Melbourne's Ministry who have seats in the Cabinet, I shall take them at random, and not according to any supposed superiority of talent. Indeed, in regard to talent, there are so many of them so nearly on an equality, that it would be no easy matter to determine which of them on that account is entitled to a priority of notice.

Lord John Russell, from his station as leader of the Ministerial side of the House, and his having also been leader of the Opposition previous to the downfall of Sir Robert Peel's Administration, is clearly entitled to be first introduced to the attention of my readers. He is small in stature, considerably below the middle size. He is slenderly made, and has altogether the appearance of a person

of a weakly constitution ; his features are large and broadly marked, considering the size of his face. His complexion is pale, and his countenance has a pensive cast. He scarcely ever indulges in a smile. His hair is of a brown colour. He usually wears a brown coat, a light-coloured waistcoat, and kerseymere trowsers of a sandy complexion. He is in his forty-fourth year.

Lord John is one of the worst speakers in the house, and but for his excellent private character, his family connexions, and his consequent influence in the political world, would not be tolerated. There are many far better speakers, who, notwithstanding their innumerable efforts to catch the Speaker's eye in the course of important debates, hardly ever succeed ; or if they do, are generally put down by the clamour of honourable members. His voice is weak and his enunciation very imperfect. He speaks in general in so low a tone as to be inaudible to more than one-half of the House. His style is often in bad taste, and he stammers and stutters at every fourth or fifth sentence. He has an awkward custom of repeating, frequently three or four times, the first two or three words of a sentence, accompanied by a corresponding number of what Shakspeare calls "hems," when at a loss for terms whereby to express his ideas. For example, if the idea to

which he wanted to give expression were, that he thought the motion of a certain honourable member ill-timed, he would express himself in something like this manner, in the instances I have supposed: "I—I—I—hem—think the motion of the honourable member is—is ill-timed at the—at the—hem—present moment." When he is audible he is always clear: there is no mistaking his meaning. Generally his speeches are feeble in matter as well as manner; but on some great occasions I have known him make very able speeches, more distinguished, however, for the clear and forcible way in which he put the arguments which would most naturally suggest themselves to a reflecting mind, than for any striking or comprehensive views of the subject. His manner is usually cold and inanimate in the extreme. Not only are the tones of his voice weak and monotonous, and his utterance imperfect and indistinct, but he stands as motionless as the table beside which he speaks. On some of the great occasions, however, to which I have referred, I have often known him raise his voice to a pitch sufficiently high to render himself audible in all parts of the house. I have also in some such cases known him make use of moderate gesture, and exhibit to the House several of the leading attributes of an effective speaker. In other words, I have known him,

apart from the importance which, from his family relations and position in the House, attached to any thing he said,—make effective speeches—speeches which must have commanded attention from whatever member and from whatever side of the house they proceeded.

I never knew a man more cool and collected when speaking. He exhibits no signs of feeling or of warmth. You would almost think him, even in many cases when his voice is raised to the highest pitch of which it is capable, a sort of automaton. On no occasion, even when most unwarrantably and virulently attacked, have I ever known him betray a loss of temper. This circumstance is the source of great mortification to his opponents. I have often seen Sir Robert Peel labour with all his might to irritate the temper of Lord John; but never with effect. In fact, Sir Robert and his party seeing the task to be hopeless, have all but ceased to be severe at his expence.

Lord John is an admirable tactician. His judgment is singularly good as to the best course to be pursued in all cases of difficulty. I am satisfied he has, in this respect, no equal in the House. I am persuaded there is not a man out of the six hundred and fifty-seven who would, had he been in his situation of leader of the Opposition, before

the downfall of the Peel Administration, have acted, in the trying circumstances in which he was then placed, with equal judgment and discretion. The difficulties of his position during the Peel dynasty, did not chiefly arise from the number and unanimity of the adverse party. These were formidable enough, certainly; but they principally arose from the imprudence of the most zealous and honest of the Reformers themselves. Some of these were, day after day, intent on bringing forward special motions, to bring the question, as they said, of which party was to triumph in the House, to a decision at once. One expedient, with this view, suggested by a very large number of the Radical party, and coincided in by many others, was, that of proposing a formal vote of want of confidence in Sir Robert Peel's Government. Lord John opposed this, as a rash step, and one which there was every reason to fear would be the means of establishing the very Government it was intended to overthrow; inasmuch as many sincere Reformers would have voted against such a motion, on the ground that, as Sir Robert Peel demanded a fair trial, it would be advisable to let him have it,—as then, in the event of his failing to bring forward liberal measures, the dissolution of his Government would be hailed by all classes of Reformers in

the country, while the mouths of his own party would be shut as to any charges against the Liberal party of unfair conduct, or of Sir Robert's Government being condemned unheard. Then came the proposition of Mr. Hume, founded on a recommendation of Sir John Campbell, in an election speech at Edinburgh, to stop the supplies. Mr. Hume gave formal notice of a motion to that effect, and he was encouraged to persevere in it by a considerable portion of the Liberal press, and by a very large proportion of the Liberal members of the House of Commons. Lord John Russell saw that the result would be the very reverse of what Mr. Hume and others had anticipated—that instead of a majority for such a motion, there would be a considerable majority against it. He saw clearly that many Reformers would vote against it, on the ground that they were anxious to avoid every thing which could be construed into a factious opposition to Sir Robert's Government; while others would be equally adverse to it, from an apprehension that, if carried, it would be attended with serious consequences to the credit of the country. Sir Robert himself saw the matter in the same light; and hence, to use his own words, he "panted" for either motion being brought forward, as the rejection of it could not fail to be the

salvation of his Government. Lord John in both these respects, evinced consummate judgment, and also a decision of character which but very few possess; for, on the one hand, he was pressingly importuned to bring forward some such motions himself, by means of the most seductive flattery; and on the other, when he expressed his disapprobation of such a course, he was charged by many less discerning Reform members with purposely betraying the Liberal cause, and playing designedly into the hands of the Tories. He wisely determinded to wait the first opportunity which would be afforded the Reformers of joining issue with the Peel Government, by Sir Robert himself bringing forward some motion involving some great principle. The Irish Tithes Bill of Sir Robert furnished that opportunity. As it made no allusion, either to the actual existence of any surplus property in the Church of Ireland, or to its appropriation, Lord John determined on moving that no Tithe Bill for Ireland would be satisfactory to the House which did not recognize the principle of appropriating to the general purposes of education any surplus revenues in the Irish Church which might be found to exist. This brought the matter to a bearing at once. No Reformer could shrink from asserting that principle. There was no room

for the imputation of factious motives on the part of the Liberal party. The opportunity of asserting their principles was not ostensibly of their own seeking, however anxiously they may have longed for it. The necessity was, in a manner, imposed on them by Sir Robert Peel himself, as it would have been deemed by the country a cowardly abandonment of their principles, to have suffered the Tithes Bill to be read a second time, without coupling with it the record of their sentiments on the question of Appropriation, both subjects being so closely associated together in the case of Ireland. The event proved the soundness of the judgment and the excellence of the tactics of Lord John.

Mr. Spring Rice, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Member for Cambridge, is, perhaps, from the prominent part he takes in the debates in the house, the next member of the Cabinet entitled to notice. Like Lord John Russell, he is of diminutive stature, though not nearly so slenderly made. Though small in size, he has a rather handsome person, of which, however, he is immoderately proud. He is somewhat of a dandy. He wears a profusion of rings on his fingers. I think I have seen as many, on more than one occasion, as seven or eight, though I will not now be positive as to the exact number. He usually wears a green

surtout, and a smart black stock. The collar of his shirt is of unusual height. James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, mentions in his autobiography that the first time he saw Mr.Galt, the left ear of that celebrated writer was completely concealed from view by the height or depth, call it which you please, of his collar. Mr. Galt once alluded, in conversation with me, to this statement of Hogg, which he characterised as altogether unfounded, but charitably ascribed it to some imperfection of memory, or other unintentional mistake, on the part of the Ettrick Shepherd. I only, however, speak the words of truth, when I mention, that Mr. Spring Rice's shirt collar is so high that I have often wondered his ears were not cut by it. Without a high collar and a smart stiff stock he would be nothing in his own estimation. He has altogether a prim appearance, both in his manners and dress.

He is a native of Ireland, and is now forty-five years of age. He has a long sharp face, of a rather pleasant and intelligent expression. His forehead is well developed, and his complexion is clear and healthy. His manner is courteous and conciliatory to all parties, whether friends or foes. He seems to have few personal dislikes; or if he have, he has the policy to conceal them. He is

ne er coarse or personally abusive in his replies to an opponent; and I do not think he has many, if any, personal enemies in the House. He is a man of considerable talents, but more showy than solid.

As a debater he has no pretensions to be ranked in the first class, but he is far above mediocrity. His enunciation is always clear, and his voice is audible in every part of the house; but there is a studied pompousness about his manner, which cannot fail to strike every one who hears him. He aims much at an imitation of the manner of Sir Robert Peel. His voice is not, in its compass, and the power he has over it, unlike that of the member for Tamworth, but it wants its sweetness and melody of tone. In his most pathetic moods, Mr. Spring Rice's voice has a strong nasal tone. He uses a good deal of gesticulation, chiefly with his right hand, and by turning about his face from one part of the house to another. Like Sir Robert Peel, however, he principally addresses his own party, and in every instance when he says, or fancies he has said, something clever, looks them wistfully and smilingly in the face for the expected cheer. They understand the thing perfectly well, and are seldom cruel enough to refuse him the "hear, hear, hear!" the laugh, or the "hurrah!" He is fond of making long speeches, and therefore,

as might be expected, frequently repeats himself. When, in the Session of 1834, Mr. O'Connell brought forward his motion for the Repeal of the Union, Mr. Spring Rice opposed the measure in a speech which occupied five hours in the delivery. Had the oration been stript of its verbiage and the tautology it contained, one-third of the time would have sufficed for its delivery. In bringing forward the budget, in August last, though it contained fewer alterations in the taxation of the country than any budget I ever recollect to have heard submitted to Parliament, he occupied the House about two hours and a-half, being double the usual time which previous Chancellors of the Exchequer, excepting in peculiar cases, were accustomed to take in making their financial statements. Ten minutes would have been ample time for the delivery of his *exposé*, had the length of the speech been regulated by the relevant matter it contained.

Sir John Cam Hobhouse, member for Nottingham, and President of the Board of Control, is another prominent member of the Cabinet. Ever since his rejection by the Westminster electors, until the beginning of last Session, Sir John took very little part in the proceedings of Parliament. During that interval he hardly delivered a

single speech of any importance or of any length. The loss of the representation of Westminster, where he fancied he was securely seated for life, made a deep and lasting impression on his mind, and, for a time, in a great measure paralyzed his energies. The return, however, of the Tories to power, and the peculiar circumstances under which Lord Melbourne's Ministry, of which he was a member, were dismissed to make way for that of Sir Robert Peel, aroused him from his comparative lethargy. Few men were more instrumental in overthrowing the Administration of the Tamworth Baronet than Sir John Hobhouse. In speaking of Sir Robert Peel, I have adverted to the effectiveness of Sir John's attacks on that right hon. gentleman and the Cabinet of which he was the head. I have seldom seen happier efforts than some of those which Sir John made during the temporary existence of the Peel Government. He seized with a sort of infallible and intuitive sagacity on the weak points both in the Government and the speeches of Sir Robert, and these he assailed with a skill, energy, and effect, which could not have been surpassed. Almost every sentence he uttered was a spoken dagger to the breast of the unhappy Sir Robert. Both the latter individually, and his Ministry collectively, seemed like mere

playthings in the hands of Sir John, which he could use at his pleasure. I have referred, in a former part of the work, to Sir John's speech on the appointment of the Marquis of Londonderry as ambassador to the Court of Russia. It was a perfect masterpiece of its kind. I never knew a speech which told with better effect on the House; and what added to its merits was the fact that it was altogether spontaneous, and scarcely seemed to require an effort. Sir John's whole heart and soul appeared to be thrown into his words. As he felt he spoke, and as he spoke Sir Robert and his friends felt, aye,—and as formerly mentioned—repeatedly changed colour too.

Sir John's manner is very changeable. As a speaker he appears to far greater advantage in attack than in defence. He is then, especially on important questions, full of fire and animation. His voice, which has something of a bass tone in it, is raised to an unusually high pitch, and his action becomes correspondingly energetic. Sometimes he raises both arms above his head, and violently beats the air with them. At others, he puts them both behind his back, when he joins his hands together. When in this position he usually recedes four or five feet from the table, and then rapidly advancing towards it again, disengages his

hands, and knocks the box or the books on the table, with some energy, with his right hand. At other times he places his arms across each other on his breast, and looks the opponent at whom he is levelling his arguments and his ridicule full in the face, with an air of half-suppressed scorn.

In defence, again, you would hardly think he was the same man. He speaks in a subdued tone, and sometimes lowers his voice so much as to be inaudible in various parts of the house. He then uses but little gesture, and that of a very gentle kind. One favourite attitude, in most cases, is leaning his right elbow on the table, and placing his left arm on his side. You will at once perceive that he then speaks from necessity, not from choice; in which case it is impossible he can speak so well. In defending himself, towards the close of last Session, when attacked by Mr. Praed for rescinding the appointment of Lord Heytesbury to India, he spoke in a very confused manner, and did not exhibit the least animation. He often stammered, and sometimes recalled, not whole words only, but whole sentences that were out of joint. Any one, to have heard him on that occasion for the first time, would have gone away with a very unfavourable impression both of his oratory and his argumentative powers. The speech, however, though

thus so much damaged in the delivery, was one of very great ability, as it was universally admitted to be by every one who read the report of it in the newspapers of the following day.

In person, Sir John Hobhouse is rather below the middle size, and is slightly inclined to corpulency. He is now in his fifty-first year. His hair is dark, and his complexion pale. His countenance is strongly marked, chiefly from the prominence of his nose. It is both large and singular in its conformation, partaking a good deal of the quality called Roman, when that term is applied to the nasal organ. There is something of a pensive cast about Sir John's countenance, though no man can be more humorous when he chooses to indulge in jokes. He is a man of versatile, as well as superior talents. I question if there is a man of greater or more varied talents in the Cabinet: certainly there is not one of greater liberality of opinion. As a politician he is, perhaps, one of the most upright and straightforward men in the House. He bordered on Radicalism, and never shrunk from an open avowal of his opinions, at a time when the word Reformer was considered synonimous with every thing that was low, unprincipled, and degraded. He now points, with proud exultation, to the time when he and his friend and colleague in

the representation of Westminster, Sir Francis Burdett, stood almost single-handed in St. Stephen's in the assertion of Liberal principles,—and when, to use his own words, his politics were so unpopular among the upper classes, that his personal friends would have passed him in St. James's-street without even deigning to give him a nod of recognition. The circumstance of Sir John's resigning his seat for Westminster, and at the same time an office worth £5,000 a-year, when he conceived it his duty to vote contrary to the views of his constituency, is known to every one, and affords a beautiful illustration of the political integrity of his character.

Lord Morpeth, member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, and Secretary for Ireland, is a young nobleman of considerable promise. He has only been a few years in Parliament, but in that short space has acquired some weight and distinction in the House. He is a man of a cultivated mind, especially in what is called light and elegant literature. He used to contribute to *The Keepsake* and other annuals. His contributions were chiefly in poetry, and were written with much good taste, but furnished no evidence of a strong masculine mind. The same may be said of his speeches in Parliament. Nothing can be more classically correct than his style, particularly when his speeches

have been previously studied, which they almost invariably are; but they do not afford any indication of genius, nor even of a vigorous or comprehensive mind. The greatest fault, perhaps, that attaches to his parliamentary efforts is, that there is an air of pedantry about every thing he says. It is probable, however, that a few years of the wear and tear of office will rid him of this. He is a pleasant speaker, and there is much to admire in his elocution. He has a fine voice, always speaks audibly, and yet not too loudly. His utterance is timed with much good judgment to the ear; but he is monotonous. He always speaks with the same tone of voice, whatever be the subject. I never yet knew him make the least alteration in his voice. The most trifling and most important subjects, the most ludicrous and most solemn, are spoken of by him in the same key and in the same tones. He appears to have no command over his voice—to be incapable of raising or lowering it as the subject requires. He occasionally attempts to be humorous; but certainly with very limited success. On one or two occasions I have seen him attempt a pun at the expense of suffering humanity. When Mr. Sharman Crawford, one of the most benevolent men in the house, brought the subject of the extreme distress then prevailing in the county of Mayo be-

fore the House, in July last, and asked Lord Morpeth, as Secretary for Ireland, whether Government had taken any steps to relieve the distress, he replied that he could assure the honourable member, that the *proceedings* of Government had not been *stationary* on the subject. The pun was in extremely bad taste, to say the least of it, at a time when, as Mr. Crawford stated, hundreds of poor creatures were daily dying from sheer want. And yet it were doing Lord Morpeth very great injustice were any one to infer from this that he is of an unfeeling mind. He is, on the contrary, a man of a kind and generous heart. Few men are more capable of sympathising with his fellow-creatures, when in distress; and there is no doubt that the remark to which I have just referred, was made thoughtlessly, or from a notion that there was something extremely clever in the pun.

Lord Morpeth is a nobleman of excellent private character, and this circumstance, added to the respectability of the family to whom he belongs, goes a great way to secure that attention and respect which the House invariably accords to him whenever he addresses it. He is a man of a mild disposition, and is gentlemanly and urbane in his manners. He never indulges in personalities or vituperation himself, and perhaps there is not a

member in the house who is less the subject of personalities or abuse on the part of others.

I have said that Lord Morpeth is a man of a cultivated rather than of a masculine mind. My opinion, however, is, that as he is only now in his thirty-third year, his mind may expand and gain in vigour while it loses in elegance. I think I can see a visible improvement in this respect within the last two years. His speech in July last, on the introduction of the Church of Ireland and Tithes Bill, though not by any means what so great and momentous a subject would have admitted of, certainly exhibited proofs of a close and comprehensive thinker. Even Sir Robert Peel complimented the noble Lord for the ability he displayed on that occasion.

In person, Lord Morpeth is about the middle stature. He is handsomely made, and proud of his person. He is always smartly dressed, though not deserving the appellation of a fop. His hair is of a brown complexion and his face pale. He has a large mouth, and is under lip is prominent and pendant. In speaking, he uses very little action, but is nearly as tame and formal in his gesture as he is monotonous in the tones of his voice. The affectation so generally visible in his speeches, is to be seen in his conduct even when taking no part in

the proceedings. One practice which he has, and which Lord Stanley also had when he sat in the same seat, is that of extending his feet to the table before the Speaker. There are several other little airs of affectation about him which are more easily and readily seen than they can be described.

I come now to speak of a young nobleman whom I consider to be decidedly the most promising man within the walls of the house. I allude to Lord HOWICK, Secretary at War, and member for Northumberland. Lord Howick is the eldest son of Earl Grey, and inherits much of the stern principle, rigid integrity, and senatorial talents of his father. On the question of Negro Emancipation, his opinions were equally decided and liberal. They were, indeed, much more liberal than were those of his father's Administration; and because, in 1832, he could not bring over Earl Grey's Ministry to the adoption of those decided measures for the emancipation of the slaves, which he conceived both the justice and the humanity of the case demanded, he, rather than compromise his principles, resigned his office as Under Secretary for the Colonies, and ceased to be a member of his father's Government. At that time, Lord Howick was considered a man of more than respectable talents; but his intellectual resources were then only be-

ginning to develop themselves. In his new situation as a member of Lord Melbourne's Administration, he acquitted himself in the course of last session, in a manner which excited the admiration of every member in the House. I never knew so marked an improvement in any man in so short a space of time. His speeches generally displayed a sound judgment, great acuteness, a thorough knowledge of the subject, and a masculine mind. He is withal an excellent debater. He is ready to speak on any question at a moment's notice. He is happy in reply. I have known him on various occasions rise to answer some leading member of the Opposition, the moment that member had resumed his seat, and demolish most triumphantly every argument which the other had advanced. On such occasions I have seen him speak for an hour and a-half or two hours, and yet never, during all that time, hesitate or falter one moment, nor appear in the least degree disconcerted. His style is fluent: perhaps it is so to a fault. He might sometimes express his ideas with more energy and effect if he used fewer words. Every word, however, is always in its proper place. You do not see how the most fastidious taste could improve the construction of his sentences.

Without being personal or coarse, Lord Howick

treats an opponent with great severity. I am not sure that he is remarkable for the equability of his temper. Be this as it may, he never allows any slight irritation he may feel to get the better of his judgment. He will never be an orator, in the proper acceptation of the term. His voice has not sufficient volume or variety in its tones for the higher order of oratory. He is always audible in every part of the house; but there is a shrillness about his voice, and a monotony in his tones, which will always, to some extent, impair the effect of his best speeches. He is one, in short, of that class of speakers who convince the judgment, but do not influence the passions. In his action, when addressing the House, there is nothing peculiar. His gesticulation is not violent. He gently moves about his body, as he looks first at one part of the house and then at another. He uses his arms to a moderate extent, and occasionally strikes the books or box on the table with his right hand.

In person, Lord Howick is tall and slender. He has a defect in his right leg, by which he is slightly lame in his walk, and which gives him somewhat of a crouching appearance when he is addressing the House. He is not good-looking. His countenance is pale, and his person altogether has an emaciated appearance. He possesses

tolerable health, though any one who did not know him, would infer from his looks that he was labouring under serious indisposition. His hair is of a bright brown colour. He is one of the many instances in which the principles of Lavater are found to be at fault. If his face has nothing absolutely unintellectual about it, it is equally certain, that no physiognomist would give him credit for the strong and cultivated mind he possesses. Lord Howick is only in his thirty-third year; and as he has risen to so much distinction during the nine years he has been in parliament, and is at this moment rising with accelerated rapidity, there is every reason to believe that in a few years he will be one of the most distinguished men in the House of Commons.

Mr. Poulett Thomson, member for Manchester, and President of the Board of Trade, is chiefly distinguished for his Free-trade notions. He is intimately acquainted with commercial subjects, and is tolerably informed on most political questions. He is a man of very considerable talents; but his manner of delivery greatly mars the effect of his speeches. He invariably speaks in a drawling, melancholy sort of tone, as if labouring under great dejection of spirits. There is a twang about his voice, especially at the conclusion of his sentences,

of which it were impossible to convey any idea by mere description, but which has a saddening effect on his hearers. His enunciation is, notwithstanding, very distinct; and though he does not speak very loudly, he is generally audible in all parts of the house. His personal appearance is of a pensive serious cast. Nature, I think, must have intended him for the pulpit. He uses very little gesture when speaking, and that little is as monotonous as are the tones of his voice. He slightly moves his right arm, and from the beginning to the close of his speech, turns his face, first to the members of the Opposition on his left hand, and then to those on his right. He appears to most advantage in a set speech, though I have seen some of his replies very happy. He is of a mild disposition. He never indulges in coarse abuse or personal vituperation of an opponent. When he speaks he is always listened to with attention. His utterance is rapid, and he speaks seemingly with much ease. His language is correct, but there is no appearance of its being studiedly polished.

In person Mr. Poulett Thomson is considerably above the middle size, and of a somewhat slender make. His hair is dark—so is his complexion. He rejoices in whiskers of goodly proportions. His nose is large, and of a form approaching to the aquiline.

His features are strongly marked ; so much so that any one who had seen him once would be sure to recognise him again. He is about forty years of age. He is always plain in his dress.

Of Lord Palmerston, Foreign Secretary, and member for Tiverton, I have but little to say. The situation he fills in the Cabinet gives him a certain degree of prominence in the eyes of the country, which he certainly does not possess in Parliament. His talents are by no means of a high order. Assuredly they would never by their own native energy, have raised him to the distinguished position in the councils of his Sovereign in which a variety of accidental circumstances have placed him. He is an indifferent speaker. I have sometimes seen him acquit himself, when addressing the House, in a very creditable manner ; but he often stutters and stammers to a very unpleasant extent, and makes altogether an indifferent exhibition. His voice is clear and strong, but has a degree of harshness about it which makes it grate on the ear. He is very indolent. He is also very irregular in his attendance on his Parliamentary duties, and when in the House, is by no means active in defence either of his principles or his friends. Scarcely any thing calls him up except a regular attack on himself, or on the way in which the department of the

public service with which he is entrusted, is administered.

In person, Lord Palmerston is tall and handsome. His face is round, and of a darkish hue. His hair is black and always exhibits proofs of the skill and attention of the *friesseur*. His clothes are in the extreme of fashion. He is very vain of his personal appearance, and is generally supposed to devote more of his time in sacrificing to the Graces than is consistent with the duties of a person who has so much to do with the destinies of Europe. Hence it is that the *Times* newspaper has fastened on him the *soubriquet* of Cupid. He is in his fifty-second year.

CHAPTER XI.

MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT WHO HAVE NOT SEATS IN THE CABINET.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL—THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL—THE LORD ADVOCATE—MR. ROBERT CUTLAR FERGUSSON—SIR GEORGE GREY—COLONEL LEITH HAY—SIR HENRY PARNELL—MR. CHARLES WOOD.

Sir John Campbell, the Attorney-General, and one of the members for the city of Edinburgh, has risen very rapidly into notice within the last few years. For a considerable time past his name was well known among the members of the English bar, but was but seldom before the public. He is a man of great weight and influence in the house, and is daily acquiring additional importance. He is by no means a fine speaker. His voice is rough and husky, and yet can hardly be said to be unpleasant. He uses little gesticulation, and yet there are an energy and determination in his manner, which tell with great effect on the House. He is

always listened to with attention. He has much honesty, as well as energy of purpose. There is nothing jesuitical or equivocal about him. He fearlessly expresses the convictions of his mind. There is no reserve about him. His style is vigorous and plain; it is correct, without being polished. What he says is always to the point, and there is no mistaking his meaning. He seldom makes long speeches; they are almost invariably short, but pithy. There is often more matter in a speech of his which occupies a quarter of an hour in the delivery, than in speeches of many other honourable members which take six times that space to deliver them.

Sir John Campbell still retains much of the Scottish accent, though he has been upwards of a quarter of a century in England. Any one who hears him speak five sentences, would perceive at once that he is a Scotchman. He is about sixty years of age. In person he is above the middle size. He is of what is called a firm make. I should take him to be a man of great physical strength. He always dresses plainly, sometimes with an appearance of carelessness. His whole aspect is what, in his own country, would be called "uncouth." His hair is of a light colour, and his countenance has a slight tinge of ruddiness about it. His eyes have

a watery appearance. He is short-sighted, and uses an eye-glass.

Though there is much energy, both of matter and manner, in what Sir John Campbell says, he never indulges in personalities, and he is seldom made the subject of vituperation on the part of others. I never knew him excite the bile of the Tories so much, or be so much abused by them, as when, last session, in the course of some of the discussions on the Municipal Corporation Reform Bill, he represented the freemen of corporations as the most debased and worthless class of men within his Majesty's dominions. The Tories, on that occasion, discharged the vials of their wrath on Sir John's devoted head, without measure and without mercy. In his attendance on his parliamentary duties he is very exemplary.

Of Mr. Rolfe, the Solicitor-General, and member for Penryn, little need be said. His name is very little known to the public, and he speaks very seldom in the house. He never speaks when he can help it, and then as shortly as possible. His talents are not above mediocrity; as a speaker he is below it. His voice is not very pleasant, and his manner is generally awkward. There is good sense in what he says; but nothing approaching to originality or eloquence. In person, he is rather

short and stout. He is light-haired, and of an angular face. Accidental circumstances, and not any merit he possesses, raised him to his present situation. As a Chancery lawyer he is a man of some distinction. His age is about forty. He has been in Parliament since the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832.

Mr. John Archibald Murray, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, and member for Leith, was, for many years before he entered Parliament, one of the most popular political men in Scotland. He was one of a celebrated trio, whose names will go down to posterity as men who made a bold and resolute stand against Toryism in the northern part of the empire when in its most triumphant state, and when to profess liberal opinions was not only the sure way to put an extinguisher on all hopes of promotion at the Scotch bar, of which he and the other two—Francis Jeffrey and John Clark*—were members, but also to exclude them, in a great measure, from respectable society. These three were the chief agents, both by their speeches and writings, in giving that impulse to liberal opinions in Scotland, which in

* These two were afterwards, when Liberal principles obtained the ascendancy in the councils of the King, raised to the rank of Judges.

the burghs so triumphantly bore down all the opposition of the Tories at the last election.

The Lord Advocate is now considerably advanced in life. He is about fifty years of age. In stature he is somewhat above the middle size. He is stoutly and firmly made, but cannot be called corpulent. He appears to have an unusually strong constitution considering his years. His hair is of a light colour, and his complexion fair: he is of a full round face. His countenance is indicative of that straightforwardness, energy, and decision of mind, which are the leading attributes of his character. He is not a fine or eloquent speaker; but he is one whom you can at all times listen to with pleasure. He always appears master of his subject, and it does not seem to cost him an effort to deliver his sentiments. He has no pretensions to originality or genius; but is a man of more than respectable talents. He always takes the common-sense view of a subject, and never fails to make himself clearly understood. His style is plain, but vigorous, and he always speaks to the point. There are few speakers in the house who give an equal quantity of well-reasoned matter in the same space of time. He never makes long speeches, nor does he address the House on other than subjects immediately connected with his office.

Mr. Robert Cutlar Fergusson, the Judge Advocate, and member for Kircudbright, has for many years exercised considerable influence in the House. He is not a man of first-rate talent, though far above mediocrity. He is popular both in the House and the country. His popularity, however, owes more to his past history, and the side he generally espouses in politics, than to anything brilliant about him. His adherence to liberal principles in early life, both in this country and in India, during times when those principles were any thing but popular, is not, and ought not to be, forgotten by the Reformers of the present day. The zeal and energy he evinced in the cause of the Poles during their struggle, a few years since, with the Northern Autocrat, did much to render him popular in the country. His attachment, however, to liberal principles has diminished, as has been so often found in the case of others, with his accession to office. During the last session I have repeatedly heard him defending men and measures, in whose favour, before he joined the Government, he would have been ashamed to utter a syllable.

He is a respectable speaker, which is the most that can be said about his oratorical powers. He speaks with ease and with considerable fluency. His style is vigorous, and his matter always to the

point. Take him unawares, and he does not appear to much advantage in reply; but when he knows beforehand the line of argument or attack which an opponent is to take, he prepares himself for his task, and acquits himself in a very creditable manner. His voice has something of a melancholy tone about it: it reminds me, in some measure, of the sound emitted by a muffled drum. His action is not violent, nor can it be said to be graceful. His appearance altogether has a great deal of sternness about it. His hair is white; part of his head is slightly bald. He wears large whiskers, which heighten the sullen aspect of his countenance. He is rather above the middle size, of a firm make, without being corpulent. His advanced years and long residence in the East, have left their traces in the shape of various slight wrinkles in his face. He is nearly sixty years of age; but appears to be in excellent health, and of a strong constitution. He used to speak a good deal in the house; but he has not spoken often since his appointment to office. When he does speak, it is principally on questions immediately connected with his own office, or with Scottish affairs. In matters connected with his own country—he is a Scotchman—he takes a great deal of interest. Those who recollect the animation and energy with

which, some years ago, he proclaimed the wrongs of Poland, and the withering denunciations which he hurled at the head of their oppressors, cannot but regret that, since he joined the Government, his voice has been mute on these points. He is a striking illustration of the great difference between a member out of office and in office.

Sir GEORGE GREY, member for Devonport, and Under Secretary for the Colonies, is a gentleman of remarkably mild and engaging manners. His office obliges him to speak pretty often in the House; but he never volunteers a speech, in other words, never speaks when not officially called on to do so. He speaks with great ease, and his manner, without being attractive, is pleasant enough. There is much good sense in what he says, and he confines himself strictly to the point at issue. He makes no effort at display: on the contrary, you see in every word he utters, as well as in his simple and unassuming manners, the inherent modesty of his character.

Sir George is now in his thirty-sixth year. In person he is rather above the middle size, and well made. He is dark-haired, and of a clear healthy-looking complexion. You can read good-nature in his face. He is decidedly good-looking: his features are regular, and conciliatory in an unusual

degree, and his uniform conduct in the house only serves to confirm the favourable impression which he invariably makes on the mind of a stranger. He is much esteemed by men of every grade of political opinion in the house.

Colonel Leith Hay, member for the Elgin district of Burghs, and Clerk of the Ordnance, is a man of considerable weight in the house, though he speaks but very seldom. Like Sir George Grey, he only speaks when compelled to it by the situation he holds. This is to be regretted, for not only is he listened to with much attention when he does address the House, but he acquits himself very creditably as a public speaker. He is one of those who professed liberal principles at a time when they were most unpopular; and he did so at great personal sacrifice. He distinguished himself in the Peninsular war, and but for his political principles —Toryism being then in the ascendant—would have doubtless obtained that promotion in the army to which his distinguished bravery and great merits as an officer entitled him. His father, the venerable General Hay of Rannes, is now the patriarch of liberal principles in Scotland. He is upwards of ninety years of age. He also crowned himself with undying honours by his gallantry and military skill in the Peninsular war. The

father is worthy of the son, and the son of the father.

On the meeting of the Session of 1834, Colonel Leith Hay did one of the noblest things I ever witnessed. On the second night of that session, when the question was about to be solved, which of the Irish members (as affirmed by Mr. Hill, member for Hull) had played the traitor by admitting, while he violently opposed the Coercion Bill, that that measure was indispensably necessary for the peace of Ireland, and that he only opposed it to please his constituents,—on that occasion, when Lord Althorp was badgered by Mr. Shiel to give up his authority for the statement, and when Mr. Shiel plainly intimated to his Lordship, that if he did not give the name of his informant, he would hold himself personally responsible,—Colonel Leith Hay rose up, and in the most energetic yet dignified manner said, addressing himself to Mr. Shiel, that precisely the same statement as that made to Lord Althorp had been communicated to him, and that he would not, any more than the noble Lord, give up his authority, but would hold himself personally responsible. I never yet knew any thing produce a greater effect on the House. There was not an honourable member in it but deeply felt for Lord Althorp at the time; and when they saw

him in a great measure relieved from the embarrassing situation in which his refusal to betray the confidence reposed in him by a friend, had placed him, by the generous and well-timed interposition on the part of the gallant Colonel, a murmur of suppressed admiration of the conduct of the latter was heard in every part of the House, and was with difficulty repressed even by the strangers in the gallery.

Colonel Leith Hay is about fifty years of age. In person he is tall and well-proportioned. His hair is dark, and his complexion approaches to ruddiness. His features are a true index to his character; they indicate great energy of mind and firmness of purpose. He is one of the most handsome and gentlemanly-looking men in the house; and his manners are in accordance with his appearance. He is courteous and kind in all the relations both of public and private life. He has acquired some distinction as a literary man; his *Narrative of the Peninsular War*, published a few years ago, in two volumes, met with a favourable reception from the public.

Sir Henry Parnell, member for Dundee, and Paymaster of the Forces, is a gentleman whose name has not been much before the public for the last twelve or eighteen months; but it was so promi-

nently so for many years before that time, and his services in the cause of Reform have been so great, that it were unpardonable to pass him over in silence. It was in a great measure to the success of his motion in 1830, on the propriety of inquiring into the state of the Civil List, that the Wellington Government of that period owed its dissolution. Sir Henry had before been popular in consequence of his decidedly liberal opinions, and his respectable talents; but the result of that motion, and the effects which followed, raised him to a distinction, and gave him an importance both in the House and the country, which he had not before acquired. It paved the way for his appointment to an important situation in the Government.

Sir Henry is a respectable but by no means a superior speaker. He has a fine clear voice, but he never varies the key in which he commences. He is, however, always audible in all parts of the house. His utterance is well-timed, and he appears to speak with great ease. He delivers his speeches in much the same way as if he were repeating some piece of writing he had committed to his memory in his school-boy years. His gesticulation is a great deal too tame for his speeches to produce any effect. He stands stock-still, except when he occasionally raises and lets fall his right

hand. Even this he does in a very gentle manner. What he excels in is giving a plain, luminous statement of complex financial matters. In this respect he has no superior; I doubt if he has an equal in the house. He fully understands all such questions, and has got the very rare talent of making his own views of a subject as clear to others, as they are to his own mind. His work on Taxation and Finance, published four years ago, must have convinced many thousands of this. It is by far the clearest and most comprehensive ever written on the subject.

Sir Henry, as I have already intimated, has spoken very little of late. As far as I can recollect, he did not open his mouth more than once in the house all last Session; and then only for a few minutes: his reputation is suffering in consequence. Politicians and senators, above all other classes of men, ought to do something to keep up their reputations; if indolent—if they do not appear with some frequency before the public, they are sure to be all but completely forgotten. They are differently circumstanced from authors; an author may earn an imperishable reputation by one work of merit, because that work, continuing to be read for a long period of years, perpetuates, of course, the name and reputation of the writer; but

it requires a series of good speeches and active exertions to procure distinction as a politician or senator; and as these speeches and exertions are of necessity but of temporary interest, it requires a perseverance in the same course of frequent speaking and unremitting action, to maintain the reputation which has been so acquired.

Sir Henry is gentlemanly in his appearance; so is he also in reality. His manners are highly courteous. In stature he is considerably above the middle size, rather inclining to stoutness. His complexion is fair; his features are regular, with a mild expression about them; and his hair is pure white. He dresses with much neatness, but not in the extreme of fashion. His age is sixty-one.

Mr. Charles Wood, member for Halifax, and Secretary to the Board of Admiralty, took a very active part in the beginning of last Session in opposing the Government of Sir Robert Peel; since then he has spoken but little. He is a young man, being only in his thirty-fifth year. He is married to the thirteenth and youngest daughter of Earl Grey, which circumstance, and his being Secretary to the Board of Treasury from 1832 to 1834, gave him a good deal of importance, during that period, in the house. He is whipper-in to the Liberal party; but he is not half so

efficient in that office as Mr. Holmes was when he performed the same office to the Tories. It is related of Mr. Holmes that when he saw any of his party about to quit the house immediately before some important division was expected to take place, he used to seize them by the collar when going out of the lobby, provided they were persons with whom he was on familiar terms, and by mere physical force compel them to return to their parliamentary duties. His experience had by this time taught him, that the promises of honourable members to return in five or ten minutes, or any other short period they might mention, were not always to be depended upon; and therefore he very wisely acted on the maxim—"a bird in hand is worth two in the bush." Mr. Wood had hard work of it at the commencement of last Session to keep the Liberals to their posts. The small majority of ten on the question of the Speakership, and the still smaller one of seven on that of the amendment to the address in answer to the King's Speech, were an earnest to him that the office was to be no sinecure.

Mr. Wood is a good speaker. He has a fine, deep-toned musical voice; but he sometimes mismanages its intonations. The effect, too, is generally in some degree impaired by a too rapid

utterance. He speaks with great fluency; he never hesitates or is at a loss, either for ideas, or for words wherewith to express them. His language is elegant; it is evidently highly laboured when he makes a set speech. He is happy in reply. He is unquestionably a man of considerable talents. Perhaps a more accurate idea of his character will be conveyed by saying he is clever. He wants depth of thought and vigour of expression. His manner is affected. The usual position in which he puts himself when addressing the House is to fold his arms on his breast, and stand up as erect as if some one were going to measure his personal height. He is about the usual height; and well-made, though somewhat slender. His face is angular, his features are regular, and his complexion of a rather darkish hue. The colour of his hair is a deep brown. He is usually rather foppish in his dress.

There are several other members who are connected with the Government, but their names do not come with sufficient frequency before the public as speakers in the house, to entitle them to notice.

CHAPTER XII.

METROPOLITAN MEMBERS.

MR. ALDERMAN WOOD—MR. GROTE—MR. CRAWFORD—MR. PATTISON—SIR FRANCIS BURDETT—COLONEL EVANS—SIR SAMUEL WHALLEY—MR. HENRY LYTTON BULWER—MR. THOMAS DUNCOMBE—MR. THOMAS WAKLEY—DR. LUSHINGTON—MR. CLAY—MR. DANIEL WHITTLE HARVEY—MR. SHERIFF HUMPHREY—MR. TENNYSON—MR. HAWES.

Before the passing of the Reform Bill the metropolitan members were only six in number; four of these were returned by the Liverymen of the city: the other two by Westminster. They are now sixteen in number; four are still returned by the City, and two by Westminster—the qualification being a £10 rental—and the other are chosen by the burghs in the vicinity.

Mr. Alderman Wood is not only the oldest of the City members, but he is the oldest of the metropolitan representatives. His age is nearly seventy. He is a man of venerable appearance; his countenance is open and cheerful. His head is in a great

measure bald; what hair there is on it is white as snow. His features are small, and his complexion is fair. There are a few wrinkles in his face, but he looks well for a man of his years. In his earlier years he used to speak often in Parliament; and in the defence and protection of Queen Caroline, he evinced extraordinary zeal within as well as without the walls of St. Stephen's; but for some years past he has spoken but very little. He is still, however, as liberal in his principles as ever, and is as much attached to them as at any period when his name was so frequently before the public.

Mr. Alderman Wood is but an indifferent speaker. His voice has a harsh, grating sound, the bad effect of which is increased by its monotony. Its tones are the same whenever he speaks, or on whatever subjects he expresses his sentiments. Whether he speaks in the House of Commons, on the hustings in Guildhall, in the Common Council-room, or at a Lord Mayor's dinner—whether the subject be one in which the destinies of the world are involved, or it be only the provisions of a bill he proposes to bring in to permit police officers to take up dogs in the hot weather, when supposed to be mad,—Mr. Alderman Wood's voice is Mr. Alderman Wood's voice—the same as it ever was; the same, I may add, as it ever will be. His manner has something

of awkwardness about it; and his language is plain, sometimes not very correct. I doubt if he ever stumbled on half a dozen eloquent sentences in the whole course of his lengthened public life. He has no pretensions to talent: it is the liberality of his principles and his consistent conduct, not his abilities, that have recommended him to the City of London, and induced it to choose him for one of its representatives.

Mr. GROTE is another of the City members. His principles are decidedly liberal: they are essentially the same as those of Mr. Alderman Wood. He is a man of very considerable talent, and occasionally makes long and effective speeches in Parliament. He is much respected by men of all parties, and is always listened to with great attention in the House. For some years past he has brought forward a motion every Session for Vote by Ballot. His speeches on these occasions occupy from two to three hours in the delivery; and in every instance have displayed a strong and masculine, as well as highly cultivated mind. I have seldom heard more strictly argumentative speeches delivered, on any question, in the house. Every thing that can be said, in favour of the Ballot, will be found in Mr. Grote's speeches on the subject, and found put in the most forcible manner. From the growing numbers

in favour of the Ballot, there is not a doubt it will be speedily carried. At this moment there is a majority of members in the house in favour of it, and the reason why it has not been carried before now is, that other matters have always clashed with it at the time the question has been brought forward.

Mr. Grote is in person about the middle size. His hair is a jet black, and his complexion dark. His countenance indicates thought and reserve, but is by no means stern or unpleasant. His voice is not strong, but his clear and distinct enunciation makes him heard in every part of the house. He does not aim at effect. He seeks to convince his audience by reason and argument, rather than to bring them over to his views by any of the claptrap oratorical expedients so often resorted to. He is a pleasant and easy speaker. He is never at a loss for words to express his ideas; nor, which is a greater matter still, is he ever at a loss for ideas. The fact is, that he very seldom speaks—and then he is very brief—without having prepared his speeches before-hand. When he intends making a long speech on any particular subject, he writes it out at full length, and commits it to memory. He is in his forty-first year.

Mr. William Crawford is another of the City

of London representatives. He is intimately conversant with commercial subjects, especially with those connected with India, where he resided for many years, and where he realized a handsome fortune. He is a tolerable speaker, but scarcely ever opens his mouth in the house. He is a man of respectable talents. His principles are Liberal, without being Radical. He does not go quite so far on many questions as his colleagues, Mr. Alderman Wood and Mr. Grote. In person he is tall, and of a full make, without being corpulent. His hair is of a slightly dark colour. His complexion is dark, and his countenance has an intelligent expression. His forehead is large and well developed, and his features are regular. He is a pleasant-looking man; his age is upwards of fifty.

The other member for the City of London is Mr. James Pattison, Governor of the Bank of England. He is now in his fifty-ninth year, but never was in Parliament till returned in March last for the City. He has not yet spoken in Parliament, nor is it likely he ever will; for he is not only a bad speaker, or rather no speaker at all, but he has the good sense to know it. I heard him on one occasion attempt to speak in public, but he made sad work of it. There was not only no eloquence

in what he said, but there was not even tolerable grammar. Either no ideas occurred to his mind, or if they did, he could not find words to express them. If, however, his speech, if so it might be called, was not "sweet," it had certainly the merit of being "short."

Mr. Pattison, in his personal appearance, reminds me of an English farmer of the old school. He is tall and corpulent; he is unquestionably, with the exception of Sir R. Vaughan, the most "big-bellied" man in the house. If he is not distinguished for his weight, morally speaking, in Parliament, he is certainly a man of great weight, in the physical sense of the term. He always dresses with great plainness. He invariably wears knee inexpressibles of a sandy colour, with gaiters of the same complexion, and indeed of the same cloth. There is something remarkably "jolly"—I know not a more significant word—in the expression of his countenance. It is full of good-nature. He always looks pleased himself, and wishes to see every body in the same happy mood. His countenance is not a fair index of his intellect. There is nothing intelligent about it; but he is a man of very extensive information, and of a sound judgment. In fact, his holding the situation of Governor of the Bank of England, is of itself a proof of this.

I now come to the members for Westminster,—Sir Francis Burdett and Colonel Evans.

Sir Francis Burdett, has been one of the representatives for Westminster since 1807. For many years he stood almost alone the advocate of Liberal principles, and submitted not only to be excluded from aristocratic society, but to heavy fines and imprisonment, rather than suppress his opinions. There is not living at this moment a man, either in or out of Parliament, who, all things considered, has made such great and numerous sacrifices for his political opinions, as Sir Francis has done. For many years he was in one sense an hourly martyr for his principles; but a great change has come over the spirit of his politics. There is no more similarity between the Sir Francis Burdett of 1835, and the Sir Francis Burdett of 1815, than there is between light and darkness. He still makes a profession of Liberal principles, but it is only profession; the substance or reality is wanting. He affected to feel no confidence in the Government of Sir Robert Peel and yet refused to take a single step towards its overthrow. Nay, when his constituents asked him to oppose it, he peremptorily refused, and plainly told them that any such opposition would be factious. In the single instance of the Irish Church Property

Appropriation Question, last session, he voted with the Liberal party; in all other cases, he either did not vote at all, or else he voted in favour of Tory principles. He was not, I am persuaded, more than eight or ten times in his place in Parliament during the whole of last session; and in no one instance did he express an opinion on any of the great questions which were brought under the consideration of the House. The only time he ever opened his mouth at all, was on the subject of some new company which proposed supplying the metropolis with water. He did, indeed, attempt to speak when the question was before the House, whether or not Mr. Pilgrim, one of the persons committed to Newgate for bribery at the Ipswich election, ought to be liberated at that particular time; but some other member caught the Speaker's eye before him, and he did not again rise with the intention of speaking, so far as I saw or could learn. What side he meant to take on that question, I have no means of knowing; nor is it of any importance, as the Reformers were divided among themselves in reference to it. If any proof, in addition to his general conduct for two or three years past, were wanting as to the character of his political principles, it would be found in the fact, that his favourite newspaper, and indeed almost the only one he

reads with any attention is the *Standard.* Sir Francis made an admission to this effect, in the presence of several persons, a few months since.

Sir Francis is now in his sixty-fifth year. In person he is considerably above the middle size, and is rather well made. His face is thin, and of a sharp angular form. His eyes are sunken. He has little forehead, while his nose, which is somewhat of an aquiline form, is unusually large and prominent. His complexion is remarkably fair, with a mixture of red, and his hair is of a pure white.

Sir Francis used to be considered a good speaker. His language was always vigorous, and his matter excellent. He never introduced any thing extraneous into his speeches for the purposes of ornament. He always spoke to the point, and there was no mistaking his meaning. In his earlier days he evidently spoke from the fulness of his heart: hence there were great energy and animation in his manner. He often reached, without attempting it, or being aware of it at the time, the higher, if not the highest flights of eloquence. His action sometimes bordered on extravagance but was generally graceful. His voice, which is clear and shrill, made the walls of the house re-echo, when, in some of his more impassioned moments—and he did on

such occasions speak as if inspired by the spirit of freedom—he raised it in defence of the liberties of his country.

What the eccentric Hon. Lady Stanhope said of Sir Francis Burdett to one of her countrymen some years since in her voluntary exile in the East, is still true:—He dresses like a gentleman and has the manners of a gentleman. His favourite dress, though of course there must be a variation with the season and with circumstances,—is a blue coat, a light-coloured waistcoat, and light-coloured knee breeches. Top-boots he almost invariably wears. He is very particular in the make of his clothes; not, indeed, in having them made according to the existing fashion, but according to what he conceives ought to be the fashion, or which was most probably the fashion some forty or fifty years ago. He is fond of long waistcoats: they generally appear three or four inches longer than his coat, when the latter is buttoned, which it usually is.

Colonel Evans is Sir Francis Burdett's colleague in the representation of Westminster. The gallant Colonel is perhaps the most liberal in his politics of all the metropolitan representatives, with the single exception of Mr. Wakley, one of the members for Finsbury. In fact, he belongs to the Radical school. As a speaker he is respectable, but nothing more It is not, however, a long time

since he was not even that. When he first entered Parliament for the borough of Rye, which is only a few years since, he was no speaker at all. It was with the greatest difficulty, and not without stammering and hesitating at every second sentence, that he could express his sentiments on any subject. His connexion with Westminster, however, imposed on him a sort of unavoidable necessity of taking part in almost all the Radical or Reform meetings held in the Metropolis during the last few years, and the result has been that he has greatly improved by practice. He can now express his sentiments on any subject with considerable ease and fluency. He is not a man of more than average talents, and has no protensions to eloquence. In the Session of 1834 he spoke pretty often: last Session only a very few times. He never makes long speeches.

Colonel Evans is an Irishman. He is about fifty years of age; but appears much older than he is in consequence of the great fatigues he underwent, and the wounds he received, in the late war. In person he is above the middle stature, but very thin. He has the appearance of a person in ill health, or of one whose frame has been worn down by active service: but he is much stronger than he appears, and is in excellent spirits; a fact which he

has sufficiently attested, by his having lately voluntarily encountered the fatigues and dangers of war in the service of the Queen of Spain. His hair is jet black; and his complexion is so dark that he is often mistaken for a Spaniard or Portuguese. He possesses an uncommonly high sense of honour. In short, he seems to have a *penchant* for duelling. I have often seen him, as it appeared to me, go out of his way, when personal altercations were going on in the House of Commons, in order that he might stand a chance of receiving a challenge. In the army few men have more distinguished themselves by acts of personal bravery than Colonel Evans. He dresses with extreme plainness, sometimes almost slovenly. His clothes are never well made, and hardly ever look as if new. He almost invariably wears a blue coat and dark trowsers, and generally has "a shocking bad hat."

Of the members for Marylebone, Sir SAMUEL WHALLEY is entitled to a priority of notice, both on account of his being an older representative of that burgh than his colleague, and of his name being much more frequently before the public. He is a young man, being in appearance not more than from thirty-five to thirty-eight. In person he is below the middle stature, but well-proportioned. His hair is black, and his complexion dark. He has a handsome

face, full of intelligence, cheerfulness, and good-nature, qualities which he invariably evinces in his intercourse with his fellow-men. But his extreme good-nature never leads him to compromise his principles. He has great fixedness of purpose about him, and is a man of the strictest political integrity. I do not know a man in the house who has adhered more closely to his principles, and this, too, in opposition to the strongest temptations to abandon them. He is a remarkably fluent speaker. He has a great command of words. I have heard him express the same sentiment in an infinitely varied phraseology. Indeed, his command of words often has the effect of making him wordy. He could speak for hours on any given subject without hesitating for a moment, or being at a loss for a word: and every sentence would be as tastefully constructed, as if the speech had been the result of months of the closest study. His mind is not of a very masculine order. If he does not fall below mediocrity in the matter of his speeches, he does not very often rise far above it. He chiefly excels in quiet sarcasm. His voice is clear and musical, and his enunciation distinct. He is a man of most gentlemanly and amiable manners. The electors of Marylebone are most warmly attached to him, and certainly few representatives are more worthy of

the regards of their constituents. He is accessible to them at all times, and is remarkable for his candour and straightforwardness in all his intercourse with them. He is most exemplary in the discharge of his parliamentary duties. I know of few members, although he is in a delicate state of health, who are more regular in their attendance in the house.

Mr. Henry Lytton Bulwer is Sir Samuel Whalley's colleague. He is the brother of Mr. Edward Lytton Bulwer, member for Lincoln, and author of "Eugene Aram," &c. Mr. H. Bulwer himself also makes some pretensions to literary talent. These are chiefly grounded on his late work entitled "France—Social, Political, and Literary," which is undoubtedly one of considerable merit. He is ardently attached to his brother, and his brother is equally so towards him. I have sometimes seen this commendable feeling of fraternal regard get the better of the good taste of the member for Marylebone, by prompting him to pay compliments to his brother's literary merits in public, which would have come with a much better grace from a more disinterested quarter.

Mr. H. L. Bulwer is a young man. He is only about thirty-five years of age. In person he is rather tall and handsome. His complexion is fair,

and his hair of a dark shade, without being, strictly speaking, black. His features are regular, and the expression of his countenance intelligent, and, on the whole, pleasing. He has a good deal of conceit about him. He is vain both of his person and intellect. He is foppish in his dress, and has too much of an aristocratic air in his manners. He is a man of fair talents, but nothing more. He does not speak often; and even then, unless the speech has been previously prepared, but for a very short time. His voice is not powerful, but it is pleasant. His utterance is rapid, and an affected pronunciation sometimes makes it difficult to hear him distinctly. He is not a man of any weight in the House; whatever distinction he possesses, he owes in a great measure, to his relationship to Mr. Edward Lytton Bulwer.

I come now to the members for Finsbury—Mr. T. Duncombe and Mr. Wakley. Mr. DUNCOMBE has been many years in Parliament, having, previous to 1832, sat during several Parliaments,—three, I think—for the burgh of Hertford. In stature he is above the middle size. His person is handsome, and it is set off to great advantage by the tasteful manner in which he dresses. His hair is quite black, and his complexion very dark. His eyes are small, but full of fire and intelligence. He

is a man of very respectable talents. His agreeable manners make him a general favourite both within and without the house. He does not speak often, hardly ever, unless he has previously prepared himself for the occasion. When he does address the House he acquits himself in a very creditable manner. His voice is clear and pleasant in its tones, and his manner is easy and unaffected. I know of few members who have the happy tact in a greater degree than Mr. Duncombe, of saying a great deal in a few words. He is never tedious; nor does he ever wander from the subject. Instead of encumbering his arguments with a world of verbiage, as is too often done, or inflicting on the House sentences without number containing no argument at all, he states his arguments in the fewest possible terms,—almost every new sentence, indeed, contains a new argument. He is singularly happy in giving a clear, intelligible statement of facts in the shortest possible space, and in the fewest possible words. His style is correct, without being polished. It is smooth and pleasant, never disfigured by a straining after effect by means of metaphorical, or any of the other meretricious expressions so often mistaken, by persons of a false taste, for eloquence.

Mr. Wakley, Mr. Duncombe's colleague, was

well known to the public before his admission into the house. His frequent unsuccessful contests for Finsbury, the prominent part he has taken for years in the proceedings at the Radical meetings of the metropolis, and his editorship of *The Lancet*, which he still conducts, and of *The Ballot* newspaper, which is now incorporated with *The Examiner*, have made his name familiar to all. In his political opinions he is of the Ultra-Radical school; but has not been nearly so violent in the expression of his sentiments, nor so obstinate and self-willed in the course of conduct he has pursued in the house, as was generally apprehended. In fact, he has acted with a moderation, in consequence of yielding to the advice of others, rather than pursuing the bent of his own inclinations and acting according to the dictates of his own judgment, which has displeased a great many of his constituents, and given rise in their minds to suspicions that he is not the man they took him for.

Mr. Wakley is an excellent speaker, though he does not appear to the same advantage in the house as out of it. His voice possesses a fine musical tone, which he can modulate at pleasure. Sometimes he speaks a little too fast, but generally his utterance is well-timed to the ear. He is always audible in every part of the house. The only

speech of any length or importance he has yet made in Parliament, was in July last, for a remission of the sentence passed on the Dorchester labourers. And that was, in every point of view, a highly creditable effort; it was so considered by men of all parties. He attempted to speak two or three times when Sir Robert Peel was in office, on Lord John Russell's motion respecting the Appropriation of the surplus property of the Church of Ireland to other than ecclesiastical purposes, but was not fortunate enough to catch the eye of the Speaker. He is invariably fluent, often eloquent. His matter is always good, though he is sometimes wordy. His delivery is graceful. I never heard two voices so like each other as his and the late Mr. Cobbett's; only that he speaks, as already stated, with much rapidity, while Cobbett was one of the slowest speakers I have ever heard. Mr. Wakley has a strong provincial accent, which sometimes has a ludicrous effect. One would, from his mode of pronouncing some words, take him to be a Scotchman. For example, the word "half-pennies" he always pronounces "ha'pnies."

Mr. Wakley has a good taste for the humorous, and makes some happy hits that way. As a mimic he certainly stands unrivalled in the house, and has few equals out of it. The only specimen he has yet

given in the house of his powers in this way was indescribably happy, and called forth peals of laughter from all parts of the house. He was mimicking one of the electors of South Devon, who voted against Lord John Russell, when he proceeded in this strain, as nearly as print can convey an idea of his manner.

"He had been down in Devonshire during the late election, and what was the cry of the farmers who had been brought up to vote against the noble lord (Lord John Russell)—'I'se have na Lard Russell; I'se have na refaarm; I'se have na Paape' —(Great laughter). When he asked one of the farmers whether he would not perfer to go up and vote independently, instead of being thus brought up in the train of the landlord, the man said 'Na, I'se aalways rides to the poll a-horseback'—(Renewed laughter). When he asked another elector, whether he would not like to go to poll by way of the ballot, his answer was, 'I daan't kna zur; I'se aalways goo by way of Daalish'"—(Peals of laughter).

Mr. Wakley is about forty-five years of age. In person, he is tall and handsome. His complexion is fair and his hair of a blonde colour. His countenance is pleasant, except when speaking, when it very often assumes a contemptuous sort

of expression, which is anything but agreeable. I have, on several occasions, been amused by observing him and his colleague sitting each in an empty seat by himself at the back of the Ministerial benches, and carrying on a conversation together across the passage, as if severally performing quarantine. The circumstance has sometimes reminded me of Hazlitt's story of two servant maids gossiping about their sweethearts, or abusing their mistresses, by putting their heads out of the windows nearest to each other, of their respective houses.

The members for the Tower Hamlets are Dr. LUSHINGTON and Mr. Clay. The name of the former has been prominently before the public for many years. He was a strenuous and able Reformer in the worst and most perilous times. He is a man of distinguished talents. If he has no pretensions to genius, or if he seldom delights his audience by any thing brilliant or original, he never fails to put the most obvious arguments in favour of the view he takes of a subject, in their clearest light. His speeches are always argumentative and forcible. I know of few members who deal less in general declamation. He still speaks pretty often, but not by any means with the frequency he did before and during the great struggle

for the Reform Bill. His notion is, in the first place, that the battle may be already said to be won: and, in the second, that as there are now so many able advocates for what yet remains to be accomplished, on behalf of the great cause of civil and religious liberty, it would be a species of unnecessary obtrusion of himself on the House were he to address it as often as he did when the battle was at its hottest, and the result—as to time at least—a matter of doubt.

Dr. Lushington's voice is clear and shrill. When he intends to address the House at any length, he pitches it in so high a key as to sound unpleasant to the ears of those immediately around him. He usually makes "the welkin ring again." His utterance is somewhat slow at the commencement, but as he proceeds and warms with the subject, he speaks with more rapidity, but never with too much. He evidently feels strongly when addressing the House on questions which involve first principles, and gives a full and fearless expression to his sentiments. His elocution is somewhat impaired by his inability to pronounce the letter *r*.

In person, Dr. Lushington is somewhat above the middle size. His complexion is dark, and his hair something between a black and brown colour.

His features are distinctly marked. He has a projecting brow and a prominent nose His mouth is large, and in speaking he usually opens it so wide as to show most of his teeth. His under-lip droops considerably. His eyes are black, and when speaking on any question in which he feels a special interest, they emit the most fiery and piercing glances. In his mode of dressing there is nothing peculiar. He dresses plainly but not slovenly. His age is about fifty-five.

Mr. CLAY owes his seat and his popularity chiefly to the liberality of his opinions. In several instances, when there were divisions in the House, he has gone much farther towards pure radicalism than Dr. Lushington was prepared, or thought it advisable at the time to go. Hence he is, or was some twelve or eighteen months since, a greater favourite with the electors of the Tower Hamlets than Dr. Lushington. Though he does not speak often —not on an average above three or four times a session—he can acquit himself very creditably when he has had time to prepare his speech and commit it to memory before-hand. The Corn-Law question is his favourite subject; and he has made several motions on the subject, which he always prefaces with a very respectable speech and of considerable length. His voice has little power or volume, but

it is clear and pleasant, and he speaks with ease and fluency. He has not much action; but what he has is graceful. He is a handsome man. There are few more handsome men in the house. He is tall and well-proportioned; and the appearance of his person is much improved by the tasteful manner in which he dresses. He has a fine forehead; his features are regular, his complexion is fair, and his hair partially dark. He is about forty-five years of age.

I come next to the members for Southwark—Messrs. Daniel Whittle Harvey, and Sheriff Humphrey. There are few men in the house whose names are more familiar to the public than that of Mr. Harvey. He is one of the little band still in Parliament who ably and unflinchingly advocated Reform when the cause was so unpopular, and when success was all but hopeless. He is a man of great talents. There are but few more gifted men in Parliament. On whatever subject he speaks, he is sure to say something clever. He is one of the few speakers in the house whom one would never tire of hearing. His ideas always strike you as excellent, and his illustrations are usually of the most felicitous kind. You are often surprised, as well as pleased, by the brilliant things he says. His language is elegant to a fault. I have heard

him deliver speeches of considerable length, through the whole of which there ran a vein of the richest poetical imagery. I never saw a better illustration than is furnished by his speeches, of the practicability of "speaking poetry in the garb of prose." Even on the question of the Pension List—a most unpoetical subject, one would think—I have heard Mr. Harvey express himself, from the beginning to the end, in the most poetical diction. At refined sarcasm he has few equals, either in or out of the house. No man can cut an opponent more delicately, and at the same time so deeply. Some of his efforts in this way have been the happiest that ever met my notice, either in speeches I have heard delivered, or in the course of my reading.

Mr. Harvey is also one of the best speakers in the house. The delivery of many of his speeches has often appeared to me a model of correct and graceful elocution. He has a fine melodious voice, over the tones and intonations of which he has a perfect control. His utterance too, is neither too rapid nor too slow,—it is the happy medium. His speeches, when well prepared, fall with all the softness and symphony of music on the ear. Even when not prepared, he often speaks admirably. I have frequently heard him get up and make a speech from thirty to forty minutes' duration on the spur

of the moment, in which there was not a single misplaced word, or the slightest unnecessary pause; while the delivery seemed as perfect as the human voice could make it. But he is not always, when unprepared, equally happy. On other occasions I have repeatedly seen him faulter and stutter, and appear awkward altogether in the delivery. Whoever, therefore, hears him in such cases, can have no idea of what he is in his happier moments.

Mr. Harvey is considerably above the middle size, and of proportional thickness. His shoulders are unusually high. He is white-haired, and his face is of a fair complexion. Advancing years are beginning to tell upon it in the shape of a few slight wrinkles. He is in his fifty-first year. He dresses plainly. He almost invariably wears a blue coat with a velvet collar. The other parts of his dress vary with the season, but his predelictions seem to be in favour of a light colour.

Mr. Sheriff Humphrey (Mr. Harvey's colleague) has not, so far as I am aware, ever attempted to speak in the house. He is no speaker; and he has the good sense to know it: it were devoutly to be wished that several other hon. members possessed the same species of knowledge. He is remarkably plain and unsophisticated in his manners, and yet is quite the

gentleman. I do not know a more consistent man: certainly no hon. member adheres more faithfully to his hustings pledges. He is a great favourite, and deservedly so, with his constituents. In person he is tall and stout, without being, strictly speaking, corpulent. His complexion is ruddy, and his countenance is full of cheerfulness and good-nature. His hair is of a brown colour. In his dress he is always plain but neat. He is about forty-five years of age.

The only other of the Metropolitan boroughs, the representatives of which remain to be noticed, is that of Lambeth. The members for this borough are Mr. Tennyson and Mr. Hawes. Mr. TENNYSON first brought himself before the public as a zealous Reformer in the year 1827, by his exertions to get the elective franchise transferred from the corrupt borough of East Retford, to the large and populous town of Birmingham. His exertions in the cause of Reform have, in one shape or other, subjected him to a very serious expenditure out of his private fortune. Few men are more attached to their principles than Mr. Tennyson. They are, in one sense, a part of his being. He is ready to make any sacrifice for them. He goes to the extreme of Liberalism, without being ultra Radical. The

result of his abstract reasonings on the subject, as well as his own observation of the evils of long Parliaments, have led him to attach the very greatest importance to frequent elections; he has, therefore, brought forward a motion every session, for some years past, in favour of Triennial Parliaments. These motions he always prefaces with a speech of considerable length, and, generally, of ability. I am not sure that he has struck out any new course of argument on the subject: but those arguments which most naturally suggest themselves to any reflective mind, he arranges with judgment, and puts in a clear and forcible light. He is a very excellent speaker. His voice is not strong, but it is pleasant. He is always audible except when there is a noise in the house, a circumstance of by no means unfrequent occurrence.

Mr. Tennyson is in person about the middle size, rather, if anything, under it. His hair is black, and his complexion dark. He has a fine forehead. His eyes are small, but full of fire and animation. He has large whiskers, and a small tuft on his chin. He is about forty-five years of age.

Mr. Hawes is by no means so popular among the electors of Lambeth as Mr. Tennyson, not

being so decided and liberal in his principles. He owes his seat in Parliament chiefly to the influence he possesses in the borough by means of his extensive business in it as a soap manufacturer. He speaks pretty often, but it is generally on the details of some comparatively unimportant question. I know of no great principle or measure with which he has identified himself. There is nothing peculiar in his voice or in his manner of speaking, except that he speaks fast. He is a little man, round in the face, and of dark hair and dark complexion. He is in his forty-third year.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE COUNTRY LIBERAL PARTY.

MR. HUME—MR. GISBORNE—MR. WARBURTON—MR. CHARLES BULLER—MR. EWART—MR. ELLICE—MR. THOMAS ATTWOOD—MR. ROEBUCK—MR. WARD—LORD DUDLEY STUART—MR. PEASE—SIR EDWARD CODRINGTON—MR. WALLACE—MR. SERJEANT WILDE.

It is not intended, under this head, to give sketches of all the Country Liberal members whose names appear most frequently before the public. I shall confine myself, in this chapter, to those members of the Country Liberal party, who cannot, with so much propriety, be classed under the heads which are to follow.

At the head of the Country Liberal party stands Mr. Hume. He is entitled to be first noticed, both on account of his being the representative of the most important county (Middlesex) in the country, and also on account of his great influence with Reformers in all parts of the land. He is, in person, about the middle size, and of a stout and

firm make. There is a tendency to corpulency about him. He is a man of great physical strength, and can endure an incredible amount of fatigue. He thinks nothing, as I have elsewhere said, of sitting for weeks and months in succession, in the house, almost from the time of its meeting till the adjournment, to say nothing of the number of speeches he delivers,—of which I shall have to speak presently. The only occasion on which I ever heard him particularly complain of exhaustion, was at the close of the contest for Middlesex in the beginning of the present year. He then confessed he was fairly "done up;" and added, that he would not again encounter the same anxiety of mind, and undergo the same amount of physical exertion, as he did on those two days, for £20,000. And no one, acquainted with the circumstances, need wonder at the observation; for in the first place, he was quite unprepared for such a struggle. He never dreamed that his opponents had been moving heaven and earth, for weeks previously, to oust him, and that they had succeeded in gaining over to their side a great many of those who had formerly proved his staunchest friends. In the second place, his committee had misunderstood each other, as to some important steps which should have been taken to insure his return

—the consequence of which was that the first day his opponent was several hundreds a-head of him on the poll. This of course doubled his anxiety all that night and next day as to the result —an anxiety which very nearly approximated to despair. In the third place, the season was the middle of winter, and after being kept a great part of each night with his committees at different places, he had to drive in breathless haste through the day, from one polling station to another, where he was, as soon after the close of each day's poll as possible, obliged to address the electors at considerable length and with all the strength of lungs he possessed. When I say that for eight or ten days before he had been almost constantly employed in addressing large assemblages of the electors and non-electors of Middlesex, it will at once be seen that to speak so often and at so many different places during the two days of the election, as he had occasion to do, was no easy task. All circumstances considered, the mental exertion and bodily fatigue which Mr. Hume underwent at the last election for Middlesex, were such as might have shaken the nerves of the strongest minded man, and tried the most Herculean constitution. It is no wonder, therefore, if he should have shrunk back at the bare contemplation of other two such days.

I have said that in person Mr. Hume is of a stout and firm make. He is short-necked, and his head is one of the largest I have seen. His hair, which is dark brown, mixed with grey, is always long and bushy; his face is fat and round, and his complexion has that rough yet healthy-like aspect which is so common among gentlemen farmers. He is beginning to get slightly furrowed with wrinkles. The impression which Mr. Hume's physiognomy invariably creates in the mind of a stranger, is that of a man of strong nerves and great determination of purpose. This is exactly his character. He is quite impervious to ridicule or sarcasm. He cares not what quantity of abuse—however virulent in quality—may be heaped on him. All the ridicule, nay, all the calumny in the world, will not divert him from his purpose, if satisfied in his own mind it is a commendable one. And as it is impossible for his enemies to force or frighten him out of any course he intends to pursue, so, in the infinite majority of cases, it is a most difficult matter for his friends to *persuade* him from it. There is not a man of purer motives or greater integrity in the house; but his self-willed disposition has occasionally done mischief to the cause he has so much at heart, and in more than one instance perilled its success—at least for a time—altogether. While

giving him the fullest credit for unbounded zeal in the cause of the people, and for the purity of his intentions, it must be clear to every reflecting person, that had he persisted in bringing forward either of the motions of which he gave notice soon after the beginning of last session, for a vote of want of confidence in the Peel Ministry, or for stopping the supplies,—the effect would most certainly have been to defeat the objects of his own party. It was with the greatest difficulty, and not without the most urgent solicitation from the most influential men of all classes of Reformers, that he was prevailed on to relinquish his intention. I know of no man who has more improved as a speaker than Mr. Hume. He is a striking instance of what may be accomplished in this way by mere dint of perseverance. When he first entered Parliament, which was in 1818 or 1819—I do not recollect which—he was one of the worst speakers in the house. He not only stammered at every fourth or fifth sentence, but his language was in the worst possible taste. It often outraged not only all the acknowledged principles of English grammar, but his sentences were often left unfinished. Now, however, without any pretensions to being a first-rate speaker, Mr. Hume acquits himself, when addressing the House, in a highly creditable manner. He speaks with much

ease, and always expresses his thoughts with great clearness and propriety; often with considerable vigour of language. His style is not polished or flowery. Though celebrated all the world over for his love of figures of arithmetic, I never yet knew him use a figure of rhetoric in any of the innumerable speeches I have heard him make. On the other hand, I may state, that I scarcely ever knew him make a speech of any length, into which he did not introduce a greater or less number of arithmetical figures. He takes a pounds, shillings, and pence view of almost every subject.

Mr. Hume's voice is strong and clear: its tones have occasionally something musical about them. If, instead of allowing himself to fall into a monotonous way of speaking, he had carefully cultivated the natural capabilities of his voice, so as to modulate it according to the subject, I am satisfied he would have been a much more effective speaker than he is.

His gesticulation cannot be said to be graceful; neither is it awkward. When he intends making a speech of some length, he carefully lays his hat, which is always full of papers, on the seat close to the spot on which he was sitting, and exhibits, as he rises, one or more Parliamentary papers, most probably connected with the "estimates," rolled

up and firmly grasped by his right hand. With these papers, so closely rolled up as to have the appearance of a solid piece of matter, he often, in the course of his speech, strikes the palm of his left hand with some force. If he is saying, or imagines he is saying, something particularly good, he stretches out his right arm to its full length, and whirls the roll of paper with considerable energy in the air. When he intends to be brief in his addresses to the House, he does not trouble himself about the locality of his hat, and seldom takes any papers in his hand, unless he intends to read something to the House, when he uses an eye-glass. His gesture on such occasions chiefly consists in gently raising and lowering both his arms at the same time, very much in the way a person working at a double-handed saw does. When he rises again, to give an explanation of a personal nature, Mr. Hume always puts his hat under his left arm, that part of it into which his head goes fronting honourable members on the other side of the house. In such cases he uses no gesture at all; he stands stock still. H. B., the celebrated political caricaturist, gave a most graphic sketch of him with his hat under his left arm, as explaining, when called on for that purpose by Sir Robert Peel, in April last, what he meant when he charged Sir Robert

with acting dishonourably in the course he was then pursuing.

In almost all Mr. Hume's long speeches, he repeatedly intimates that he is about to conclude long before he does so; sometimes, perhaps, before he has got half through his address. The only symptom that can be depended on of his being about to resume his seat, is that of his giving a glance to his hat. He always concludes in two or three sentences after he has done that.

I think I am within the mark when I say, that Mr. Hume speaks more in the course of a Session than any other three members put together. He takes part in almost every discussion that arises in the house; and when the House is in Committee, and he has the right of speaking as often he pleases, he addresses it with a frequency which would appear incredible to those who have not witnessed it. On one occasion, in May last, when the miscellaneous estimates were under consideration, he spoke no fewer than forty times in one night.

He is not a man of very superior talents; but every thing he says is characterised by strong good sense. If he never gives utterance to any thing brilliant, he never descends below mediocrity. He is well informed on matters of general politics. His memory is very tenacious.

He is of an easy and agreeable temper. I never yet knew him, notwithstanding the loads of the coarsest personal abuse I have seen heaped on him, lose his temper. He acts on the Scriptural rule of not rendering evil for evil, or returning railing for railing. It is principles and measures, not persons, that he attacks. He has been of great service in advancing the popular cause. His zeal and exertions on behalf of that cause are almost as great out of the house as in it. Nothing but the most robust constitution could have stood the labours and fatigues he has undergone in the cause of civil and religious liberty. In his dress Mr. Hume is always plain. He usually wears a blue coat. During last Session he chiefly wore a tartan waistcoat and light-coloured cassimere trowsers. His waistcoat is always double-breasted, and is usually close buttoned up to his chin. He is in his fifty-eighth year; but, from his healthy appearance and strong constitution,—the more surprising as he resided for many years in India,—joined to his temperate habits, there is every reason to believe he may live for a long period to come.

As so many of the other country Liberal members are so nearly on an equality, both as regards their talents and their influence in the house, it would be impossible for me, were I to attempt it, to

assign them their respective places in the scale of importance. I shall, therefore, take them at random, beginning with Mr. Gisborne, the member for South Derbyshire.

Mr. GISBORNE has been in Parliament since the passing of the Reform Bill; but brought himself into more extensive notice last Session than during the whole of the previous three. He took a most active part in the efforts of the Liberal party to overthrow the Peel Ministry, and contributed essentially to the success of those efforts. Some of his speeches, in opposition to the Government of Sir Robert, were among the best which were delivered from the Liberal side of the house during the two months' existence of that Government. Latterly he took a conspicuous part both in the Committee (of which he was Chairman) of Inquiry into the alleged bribery and corruption at the Ipswich election, and in the proceedings adopted by the House for the punishment of the parties convicted. In this, as in previous cases, he gave striking proof of his possessing a sound judgment, united to great energy and determination of purpose. His conduct on the occasion was the subject of private eulogy by every one—not even excepting the Tories—acquainted with it.

He is a man of great talents. His mind is vi-

gorous and comprehensive, and there is much terseness in his manner of expressing himself. There is always stamina in what he says. He is not a fine speaker. He is one of the many members in the house who labour under a defect in their organs of speech when attempting to pronounce the letter *r*. His voice has something of a clear yet strong tone about it. He cannot be said to speak fluently; and yet, with the exception of an occasional stammer, makes his speeches without any seeming effort. His speeches are usually short; but there is more matter in them than in those of many other honourable members of four or five times the length. Every thing he says tells directly on the point at issue. He does not use much gesticulation: he generally contents himself with raising and lowering his right arm, with more or less violence, according to the warmth of his feelings at the time.

Mr. Gisborne is rather a tall man, and is otherwise well proportioned; a large part of his head is bald; the little hair he has on it is of a dark brown. He has a fine well-formed forehead. In the general expression of his countenance, you would not be struck with any thing as particularly indicative of a superior mind. His complexion is fair, and his features are strongly marked. He

dresses with great plainness. He almost invariably wears a blue coat, with dark or light waistcoat and trowsers, according to the season of the year. His trowsers are generally remarkable for their shortness; they remind one of schoolboy-days, being two or three inches from the upper part of the shoes, and showing the stockings to advantage.

Mr. Gisborne is much respected by men of all parties, both for his talents and his upright and consistent public conduct. He is always listened to with the greatest attention by all parts of the House. He is about fifty years of age.

Mr. WARBURTON, the member for Bridport, has many points of resemblance to Mr. Gisborne. In personal appearance they are very much alike, with this difference, that Mr. Warburton is not so tall, while he is considerably older. Mr. Warburton is also partially bald-headed, and what hair remains on his head is of a dark brown colour. His complexion is likewise dark, and his features are strongly marked. Like Mr. Gisborne, he also dresses with great plainness, and is scarcely ever to be seen in any other than a blue coat. He is not an attractive speaker. His voice is naturally bad, and his elocution is partially impaired by a slight lisp. His manner is cold, though no man is more sincere or decided in his opinions. He scarcely

uses any action. He is often inaudible. But though his manner is bad, his matter, like that of Mr. Gisborne's, is always good. It is true, he has not the same masculine mind; but he possesses an excellent judgment, and is one of the most intelligent men in the house; what he says is always to the purpose; and the view he takes of a subject is, in most cases, so obviously the right one, that what he says cannot fail to commend itself to the reason of those who are blessed with that faculty. In committees, he is, perhaps, one of the most useful of the whole six hundred and fifty-eight. He is now considerably advanced in years, his age being about sixty.

Mr. Charles Buller, the member for Liskeard, is a young man of considerable promise. He is well informed on most of the subjects which come before the House. He is distinguished for acuteness rather than for any great grasp of mind. His *forte* lies in reply. His answers to the speeches of his opponents are often pervaded by a vein of good-natured but happy satire. He often turns their own arguments against themselves with excellent effect. He is a fluent speaker, but his voice is too weak and monotonous for his ever becoming an impressive one. His utterance is so rapid, and his matter is often so argumentative, that it is only

by the closest attention you can appreciate the merits of his speeches. He uses very little gesture, and that little chiefly consists of his occasionally striking the palm of his left hand with the fore part of his right hand. He is understood to be a frequent contributor of leading articles to the *Globe* Newspaper: the *Times* has, on more than one occasion, identified him with the editorship; but the *Times* has been misinformed on the subject.

The conformation of Mr. Buller's face is of a peculiar cast. He has a projecting forehead, and a small, flat, cocked-up nose. His physiognomy very much resembles that expression of countenance which is characteristic of natives of the south of Ireland, and which it is much easier to imagine in one's mind than to convey an idea of by description. He is good-tempered, and of mild and conciliatory manners. There is a perpetual smile and expression of cheerfulness in his face. His complexion is fair, and his hair of a bright brown colour. He is a general favourite in the house. His age is under forty.

Mr. Ewart, the member for Liverpool, is one whose name very often appears in the reports of the Parliamentary debates. He speaks occasionally on subjects of general politics; but he acquits him-

self most creditably on commercial questions, with most of which he seems to be intimately conversant. He never makes long speeches: the longest he ever has made, have been those with which he has prefaced a motion, which he has made each Session for the last three years, to equalize the duties on East and West-India sugar. He speaks with considerable ease, and with much rapidity. His language is correct without being eloquent: he is not, and never will be, an effective speaker. His voice is pleasant but weak: he has not the slightest control over it. He is one of the most monotonous speakers in the house. His manner, too, is cold and spiritless. He never seems to feel what he says. The only gesticulation he ever uses is a slight movement of his right arm. He is nevertheless much respected in the house, and is generally listened to, by those to whom he is audible, with attention. He is very decided in his political opinions, and is firm and fearless in the expression of them. He is a man of very respectable talents, and of unblemished private as well as public character. He possesses a humane mind, and has greatly distinguished himself by his unremitting efforts to modify the sanguinary character of our Criminal Code.

Mr. Ewart is in stature about the middle size, and of a slender make. His complexion is some-

what sallow. His features are regular, and his face, altogether, handsome. His hair is of a dark brown, and he generally wears it long. He is a young man, being only about thirty-five years of age.

Mr. Ellice, the member for Coventry, is a man who is always listened to with great attention in the house, and who exercises some influence there, though he does not speak often. Last Session he made only one speech worthy of the name: this was owing to ill health, which made it impossible for him to attend to his Parliamentary duties. The speech I refer to was made on Mr. Shiel's motion respecting the appointment of the Marquis of Londonderry to the office of British Ambassador at the Court of Russia. Mr. Ellice then chiefly repelled the attacks which had been made, in the course of the discussion, on the first Government of Lord Melbourne, of which he was a prominent member. To these attacks Mr. Ellice replied with great energy and effect. He is not a fine speaker, but when addressing the House on any question involving important principles, he always speaks with much animation and feeling, and, as already remarked, commands the deepest attention of the House. His voice is strong and powerful, though not without a degree of huskiness which is not

always pleasant to the ear: his command over it seems to be complete; he raises it and lowers it at pleasure, and with excellent effect. His utterance is usually rapid, but is sometimes impeded by his ideas crowding too fast on his mind. His action, when his manner is animated, is generally violent. His use of his arms is extravagant on such occasions, and he turns about his whole body from one part of the house to another, in a manner not unlike the movements of a weathercock on a windy day. In stature he is above the middle size, and very corpulent. His face is round, his complexion sallow, and his hair of a dark brown. His countenance has a good-natured expression about it; but is by no means intellectual. He is, however, a man of superior talents. His principles are Liberal in the extreme, though not absolutely Radical. He was understood to be the most Liberal member of Lord Melbourne's first Cabinet, and certainly he was one of the most honest men in it, as well as the boldest and most uncompromising in the assertion of his opinions. The delicate state of his health, which renders a residence in Italy desirable, is the cause assigned by Lord Melbourne's friends for his not having been included in the arrangements for the reconstruction of that nobleman's Cabinet. Mr. Ellice is apparently about fifty years of age.

Mr. Thomas Attwood, the member for Birmingham, does not possess that weight or influence in the house, which his great popularity and influence among Reformers out of doors would have led one to expect before his election. His politics are the extreme of liberality; but he is not a man of extensive information or of a vigorous mind. With the Currency Question, indeed, he is most intimately acquainted; but his knowledge of politics generally is but limited. He is a man of one idea: that idea is the necessity of a paper currency. This he holds to be the only *panacea* for the evils of the country—this the grand remedy for national distress. Hence, whatever be the subject of debate—whether the Quadruple Treaty of Alliance—the Emancipation of the Negroes in the West-Indies—the Policy of Russia—Triennial Parliaments—the Vote by Ballot—Poor Laws for Ireland, or any thing else—he is sure, if he take any part in the discussion, to lug in a small note currency, and to hammer away at the idea through at least three-fourths of his speech, whether long or short. I never yet knew him make a speech since his admission into Parliament, in which the staple matter was not a paper currency.

Mr. Attwood is a man of much private worth, and his public character stands unblemished. There

is not a more honest politician in the house. He knows not what it is to compromise or conceal his opinions. The word expediency has no place in his vocabulary. You see the mind of the man the moment he opens his mouth; and you see him to be as unsophisticated as if he had never for one moment inhaled the atmosphere of a region—instead of breathing it for three years—in which trimming, and compromise, and apostacy, are often the order of the day.

As a speaker Mr. Attwood does not rank high. He speaks with sufficient ease, and his language, without being polished, is tolerably correct; but he has a broad, gruff, unearthly voice, aggravated by a strong provincial pronunciation, which sounds strangely in the ears of those who hear him. If you heard Mr. Attwood speaking, and did not see or know who he was, you would be sure to conclude that some uneducated farmer was addressing you. The word Birmingham he always, in the broadest possible accent, pronounces "Brummagem;" and this, too, though every time he does it, he is greeted by the loud laughter of the House. His gesture is not violent, neither can it be said to be ungraceful. It principally consists of a gentle movement, up and down, of his right arm, accompanied with a slight occasional movement of his

eye and face from one part of the house to the other.

Mr. Attwood is about forty-five years of age. He is middle-sized, and proportionally stout. His face has not an intellectual expression. Like his pronunciation, it is "countrified." It is of an angular conformation. His hair and his complexion are both dark.

Mr. ROEBUCK's politics are substantially the same as those of Mr. Attwood; but he is a very different person, in many respects. A *fracas* with an opponent, at the time he was elected member for Bath, gave him the character of an ill-tempered and easily-irritated man. His conduct in the house, as well as out of it, has proved the character he then got was a just one. You see the cynic in his face. He is one of the most petulant and discontented, and at the same time, conceited-looking men in the house. He is full of airs. He is, in his own eye, one of the most important men within the walls of Parliament. He not only must needs speak on every question of importance—that is to say, if he is sufficiently fortunate to catch the Speaker's eye—as if there were something oracular in every thing he says; but he has the presumption often to attempt to get possession of the House, immediately after some of the ablest members of

the Opposition have spoken, with the view of replying to them. He is a man of fair talents, but nothing more. He speaks with considerable fluency when he makes a set speech, because, in that case, he writes it out at full length, and commits it to memory in the same way as a school-boy does his task; but when he attempts speaking on the spur of the moment, he often stammers, and has to correct and re-correct his ill-constructed sentences. His voice is feeble, but clear and distinct in its tones. His favourite gesture is to raise his right arm, spread out his fingers, and turn his face and body from one part of the house to the other; but when he flatters himself—which he often does—that he is saying something unusually clever and of commanding importance, he strikes the books or box on the table with his right hand, with great violence,—having, before commencing his speech, removed, for that purpose, from his usual seat to one close to the table.

Mr. Roebuck is diminutive in person. He is much under the middle size, and is so slender withal that he has quite a boyish appearance. His countenance is of a pale and sickly complexion; it has very little flesh on it. His nose is rather prominent, and his eyes are disproportionally large and sunken. There is a scowl so visibly impressed on

his brow, that the merest novice in physiognomy must observe it. He is in his thirty-third year. He is not a favourite in the house, and the limited popularity he has acquired out of doors, seems to be on the decline. He is not only the author of the political pamphlets which are published weekly in his name; but has written various articles for some years past in the *Westminster Review*, *Tait's Magazine*, and the *London Review*. Of the latter work, indeed, he is one of the leading contributors, his brother-in-law, Mr. Thomas Falconer, being the editor.

Mr. Ward, the member for St. Albans, though so little known a few years ago that his name was hardly ever mentioned out of doors, is now one of the most popular men in the country. I mention, as a striking instance of Mr. Ward's popularity out of doors, that it was intended,—though I am not sure he is up to this moment himself aware of it,—to invite him to stand at the last election for the burgh of Marylebone, in opposition to Sir William Horne, and in the same interest as Sir Samuel Whalley. A resolution to this effect was agreed on by a large majority of the leading men in the burgh, and there could not have been a doubt of Mr. Ward's return—which his admirers engaged should be effected free of expense to him—but it

was stated most confidently by individuals who affected to speak advisedly, that he and his constituents at St. Albans were so attached to each other, that he would not on any consideration sever the friendly connection. The electors of Marylebone, therefore, were induced to look out for another person to represent them, when, owing to a variety of accidental circumstances, the choice fell on Mr. Henry Lytton Bulwer.

It was Mr. Ward's celebrated motion, with the speech which preceded it, in 1834, affirming the right of Parliament to appropriate the surplus property of the Church of Ireland to other than ecclesiastical purposes,—that first brought him into notice. Before then, owing in some measure to his long residence abroad, his political principles were unknown to almost all members in the house. The general impression, indeed, was that he was a Tory. But that motion, and the bold and able speech with which he prefaced it, at once earned for him the reputation of being a man of liberal opinions and of superior talents. Since then Mr. Ward has often spoken on important questions, and every speech he has made has confirmed the accuracy of the impression formed regarding him from the speech and motion to which I have referred.

He is not a fine speaker. There is too much tameness in his manner; and his voice is quite monotonous. It has also a certain degree of huskiness about it. He speaks with much rapidity, and seemingly with great ease. His style is terse and vigorous, and his matter is in most cases highly argumentative. He is much respected in the house by men of all parties.

Mr. Ward is about forty years of age. He is rather tall and athletic. His complexion is florid. His face is full and round. His nose inclines to flatness. His hair is of a light brown. He sports unusually large whiskers. His countenance has a pleasing good-natured expression, but has nothing particularly intellectual about it. He is the son of Mr. Ward, the celebrated author of *Tremaine*, and other popular novels, and is often confounded with him.

Lord Dudley Stuart, member for Arundel, is a nobleman whose name does not appear very often in the reports of the debates in the House; but he has strong claims on every friend of freedom and humanity were it only for the exertions he made in favour of the Poles, both within and without the house, at the time of their late great struggle with the northern despot. Events have proved that he felt much more strongly in the cause of Poland than

did Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, though the latter managed to make a much greater parade of his exertions in that country's behalf. Lord Dudley Stuart's sympathy with the Poles was fervent, pure, and lasting. It had its origin in the best principles of our common nature, and was fed and perpetuated by that which called it into existence. His was the feeling of a Christian, and a lover of his race. His exertions, first to avert their re-subjugation by Nicholas, and afterwards to administer pecuniary relief to such of them as escaped to this country, were most strenuous and unremitting; and I could speak,—but I know his modesty of disposition would make him prefer my silence on the subject,—I could speak as to the extent of his own pecuniary liberality. But it is not the Poles alone who have found in him a warm friend and a zealous advocate in the time of need. Whenever the great principles of humanity are brought into collision, in the house or out of the house, with those of an opposite character, he is always to be found at his post. All the exertions which have of late been made to put a stop to those frightful instances of cruelty to the brute creation, which are so common in the metropolis, have been most cordially and efficiently seconded by Lord Dudley Stuart.

As a speaker he has little or no pretensions. He feels great difficulty in finding words wherewith to express his thoughts. This chiefly arises from his extreme modesty. His voice is weak, and not very clear. He is in his thirty-second year. He is tall and slender in person. His hair is of a dark brown, and his complexion something between dark and sallow. His countenance has a mild and pensive expression. In his features there is nothing peculiar.

Mr. PEASE, the Quaker Member for Durham, is one of the most useful, though not one of the most shining, members in the house. In his attendance on his legislative duties he is the most punctual and close of any man I ever saw. He even beats Mr. Hume himself. From the beginning of the business till the adjournment, no matter how late the hour, there he is, not indeed in one particular seat, but in some part or other of the house, all attention to what is going on. It is clear he acts from principle. As to a party object, he knows not what it is. A more conscientious or upright man never sat in the house. His amazingly close attention to his duties in parliament has told visibly on his constitution. He is much thinner, and much more sallow in his complexion, than when he entered the house.

Mr. Pease speaks pretty often, but it is chiefly in Committees, or on questions which do not call up the leading members. His mode of address is, of course, different from that of other members. He never uses the word "Sir," in addressing the Speaker, which all other members do at almost every fourth or fifth sentence; nor does he call any member, according to the invariable practice of all other members when addressing the House, "the honourable member," but simply says "the member" for such a place. In short, agreeably to the principles of the society to which he belongs, he applies no honorary titles to any one.

He speaks with great rapidity, and is never at a loss for words or ideas. His style is correct but plain. In his manner there is no action whatever. He stands stock still. His voice is weak, which with his great rapidity of utterance, often renders him inaudible.

He is about forty-five years of age. His stature is of the middle size. His face is of an angular form, and is expressive of the mildness and intelligence for which he is distinguished. His complexion, as I have already intimated, is somewhat sallow, and his hair of a light brown colour. He is not a man of brilliant parts; but his judgment is remarkably sound, and he always takes the common-sense

view of a subject. He is not only a man of great intelligence, but is always correct in the statements he brings to bear on any question. Taken all in all, he is, as I observed in the outset, one of the most useful members in the house. If he is a fair specimen of the society to which he belongs, the country would have no reason for regret were the entire six hundred and fifty-eight members selected from the Society of Friends.

Sir Edward Codrington, member for Devonport, is better known for his exploits as a naval officer than for any thing he has yet done or is likely to do as a statesman. His splendid achievement at Navarino will be remembered, when the fact of his having been a senator has been long forgotten. His name, however, comes pretty frequently before the public in the latter capacity. He speaks a good deal, though never much at a time. When naval matters are brought before the House, he is sure to speak. On the subject of impressment in the navy, and on that of the abolition of flogging in the army, he has always taken a lively interest. He is not a Radical in the fullest acceptation of the term; but he goes much farther than the Whigs of the old school. He is an advocate for Free Trade, for a Repeal of the Corn Laws, the Abolition of the Assessed Taxes, for the Vote by Ballot,

and for Shortening the Duration of Parliaments. Notwithstanding, however, the liberality of his sentiments, he is not very popular, even among the Liberals. What the reason of this is, I do not exactly know. He is not a fine speaker: there is nothing attractive in his manner, and nothing indicative of superior talent in his matter; his ideas are usually common-place, though generally marked by good sense, and his language has something of the roughness of the sailor about it; his voice is clear, but not strong. His articulation is sufficiently distinct, but there is something of a provincial accent about it. There is no variety in the tones of his voice; it is monotonous at all times and on all subjects. He speaks with seeming ease and somewhat rapidly. His speeches produce but little impression in the house: indeed they are not listened to with any very great attention.

His personal appearance is rather venerable. He is seemingly about sixty years of age. His face is angular; his complexion has something of ruddiness about it; his hair is white, but the process of becoming bald has begun, and may be expected to advance with some rapidity in a person of his age, and long and active maritime service. He is tall, and of a somewhat handsome figure. He usually wears a blue coat.

Mr. Wallace, the member for Greenock, is one of the few decidedly Radical representatives returned by Scotland. His great characteristics are, honesty of purpose and plainness of manners. I believe his integrity has never been questioned. The Tories are always forward to admit, however much they may conceive him in error, that he is himself on all occasions thoroughly convinced he is in the right. There is a kind of primitive simplicity in his manners. He has much of that homeliness about him which is often to be met with in his own country. Nothing would prevail on him, though he could do it successfully—which, however, he could not—to affect the airs of a fashionable man. He loves what he calls the simplicity and artlessness of nature; and is just such a person as would remain the same in his manners—let the etiquette and fashions of society change as often as they pleased—though he were to reach the good old age of Methuselah. Mr. Wallace dresses well, though plainly. You see his manners the moment you see his person. In height he is about the middle size. Without being, strictly speaking, corpulent, he is stoutly and compactly made. His head is in a great measure bald: what hair there is on it is white as unsunned snow. His forehead is rather low and slanting. His complexion is fair,

and has the freshness of health about it. Wrinkles begin to shew themselves in his face, which inclines to the rotund form. He has small, dark blue, laughing eyes, strongly expressive of a contented and good-natured disposition. His nose is unusually flat. Whenever he speaks you would think he was smiling. He is, practically, one of the greatest utilitarians—according, of course, to his own notions of utility—in the House, and is, like Mr. Hume, a remarkable instance of what a man of very humble talents may accomplish by mere dint of perseverance. The two great subjects to which he has almost exclusively bent his attention since he has been in the house, are a Reform in the Law Courts of Scotland, and a Reform in the Post-office. The former object has been already accomplished to a certain extent: the latter is on the eve of being fully gained. I remember some years since, when he first brought the alleged abuses in the Post-office system under the consideration of the House, and sought to get the whole system re-modelled, that he was regarded by all parties, not even excepting the most sanguine Radicals in the house, as having engaged in one of the most hopeless enterprizes ever undertaken by a human being. Neither Whigs nor Tories would even hear his detail of the alleged abuses, or "lend their

ears" while he submitted his proposed plan of Reform. The bringing forward of his motion on the subject, and his speaking two or three hours on it, were hailed by the great majority of members as constituting a sort of episode in the usual business of the House, during which honourable members might either, as best suited themselves, quit the house altogether, or remain and talk over with each other any topics they pleased. Mr. Wallace, however, never seemed in the least disheartened by this, but plodded through his statistics and calculations with as much apparent self-satisfaction as if the House had been all attention. Every year since he began he has had a grand post-office field-day, and the result has been, that there is now every prospect of the post-office department speedily undergoing that extensive reform for which Mr. Wallace has laboured so long and so assidiously. When he had finished the speech with which he prefaced, in the beginning of last August, his last motion on the subject—a speech which occupied three hours in the delivery—both Whigs and Tories admitted the necessity of reform in the post-office to a very considerable extent. Lord Lowther, Mr. Vernon Smith, and other members—not even excepting Mr. Spring Rice—whose situations more immediately connected them with the

post-office, all in substance conceded the point which Mr. Wallace contended for.

Mr. Wallace is not, as already hinted, a man of much intellect. He has no comprehensive views on great questions. No one knows this better than himself—I wish I could say as much of many other honourable members—and he consequently never seeks to address the House on topics involving first principles. These he very wisely leaves to those of more enlarged views and greater experience in such matters. He acts on the modern principle in political economy,—though making no pretensions to the character of a political economist,—of a division of labour. He has taken up the two questions which I have mentioned; to them he confines himself, and from them nothing will divert his attention, according to his own statement, until he has succeeded in accomplishing the reforms which he maintains to be so imperatively called for. He is a very indifferent speaker. He is always audible, but there is something hard and shrill about his voice which grates on the ear: it has no flexibility: it is the same key and the same tones from beginning to end. His enunciation is rapid; occasionally, but not often, he stammers slightly. His language has no pretensions to eloquence: it is plain and unpolished. I could never discover a

single elegant expression or rounded period in any of his speeches. He uses hardly any gesture when speaking: never any thing more than a slight occasional movement of the right arm. He is about sixty years of age.

Mr. Serjeant WILDE, member for Newark, does not speak very often. He reserves himself for great occasions, and then generally acquits himself in a highly creditable manner. He is an excellent speaker. His voice is strong, clear, and sonorous though he does not always modulate it with the best taste or judgment. His manner, too, is, on the whole, good. It has considerable energy about it. Sometimes he assumes a stooping posture, which is by no means graceful; but usually he stands erect, and slightly moves his face from the right to the left of those members in the immediate vicinity of the Speaker's chair. I should mention, that when he speaks he always does so from the floor of the house, to which he advances three or four feet from the front row of benches. The side of the house depends, of course, on whether his party be in office or in the Opposition at the time. His back is turned on the door, and his face directly towards the Speaker, except when, as just remarked, he occasionally glances his eye on those members on the right or the left of the Chair. He makes

considerable use of his right arm when speaking. With it he beats the air with some energy; but when he waxes particularly warm, he raises both arms above his head, and lets them descend again with great rapidity. On such occasions his hands are usually firmly clenched together. He is generally listened to with much attention by all parties. His speeches have much less of declamation in them than is generally to be found in the speeches of those members who are in the way of displaying considerable energy of manner. They are usually pervaded, from beginning to end,—with the exception of the exordium and peroration,—by a vein of close and powerful argument. I have said he does not speak often. I do not suppose he has made above ten or twelve speeches of any length or importance during the three Sessions he has been in the house. Last Session, if I remember rightly, he only made one speech of any importance; and that one, which was certainly very able and highly argumentative, and must otherwise have produced a great impression, fell, as it were, still-born from his lips, because of the unseasonable time he chose for its delivery. It was on the question of Municipal Corporation Reform, but instead of being delivered, as it ought to have been, when that question was in Committee,—for it will be recollected that, owing to

the Tories offering no opposition to the principle of the measure, no discussion or division took place on the second reading,—instead, I say, of the learned gentleman delivering his speech when the bill was in Committee, he did not deliver it until about a week before the close of the Session, when the measure was sent back by the Lords to adopt the amendments which they had made on it. The subject had by that time, at least in so far as mere discussion went, lost all its interest, and therefore the House paid little or no attention to the learned Serjeant's speech. He saw this, and, in consequence, cut it comparatively short; for though he spoke for an hour and a quarter, it was clear, from the nature of the ground he took, that the speech had been intended for a two and-a-half or three hours one. In fact, the universal impression in the house was, that the speech had been cut and dry, and, as the booksellers say, "ready for delivery," when the Municipal Corporation Bill was in Committee; but some unforeseen circumstance had prevented that delivery taking place. Probably that circumstance was the claims which the great mining cause of "Small *versus* Attwood" had at the time on his attention, he having had, as was generally understood, a retaining fee in the case of eight thousand guineas.

Mr. Sergeant Wilde is one of those who have raised themselves from comparatively humble and obscure circumstances, into wealth and eminence, by their own talents and energy of character. He was originally an attorney's clerk, but has now one of the most lucrative businesses at the English bar. In person he is somewhat about the middle size, and stoutly and compactly formed. His complexion is fair, and his hair of a light brown. His eyes are large and are full of fire and intelligence. His forehead is prominent. He is rather good-looking, and of gentlemanly appearance and manners. His age is fifty-four.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE IRISH LIBERAL MEMBERS.

MR. O'CONNELL—MR. SHIEL—MR. FEARGUS O'CONNOR—MR. HENRY GRATTAN—MR. RUTHVEN.

Mr. O'Connell is not only the most distinguished of the Irish members, but he is in some measure *the* Irish member. His influence in Ireland, and in the house, on all Irish subjects, is much greater than is generally supposed, although admitted on all hands to be of very great extent. A very large portion of it is indirect, and is in a great measure unknown even to himself; for as he is known to lead and direct public opinion in that country, measures have been brought forward, both by the Government here and in Ireland, without his knowledge, merely because the Ministry, or Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, knowing that he will approve of them, are convinced they will be hailed with satisfaction in that country.

Mr. O'Connell's influence is increasing every day, both in Parliament and in the country. When he

first appeared in the House of Commons, it was comparatively limited indeed in that house, and even in Ireland it was chiefly confined to the lower classes. The fact is, that he was then, and for two or three years afterwards, miserably deficient in judgment. He then thoughtlessly and recklessly, opposed himself, by his strenuous advocacy of the Repeal of the Union, not only to the prejudices of the House, but to those of the most respectable and intelligent, even of the Liberal party in Ireland. In the expression of his opinions, which were always extreme, on other great political questions, he was also imprudent. Those opinions he at all times boldly asserted, and regulated his support or opposition to certain measures by them, without the least regard to circumstances. Hence his objects were not only defeated, but his influence, instead of increasing only diminished the oftener he spoke in the house. So late as the middle of the Session of 1834, when he brought forward his motion for the Repeal of the Union, his influence was at a very low—if not its lowest—ebb; and the opinion of many of his greatest friends was, that he had then, in some measure, sunk to rise no more.

Circumstances, however, favourable to Mr. O'Connell's recovery of his influence, occurred in

November 1834, and he had the judgment to avail himself of them. The abrupt dismissal of the Melbourne Ministry, and the formation of a Government on Conservative principles, in November last year, inspired a large proportion of the nation with a hatred of Toryism and an attachment to Liberal principles, incomparably greater than they had ever felt before. Mr. O'Connell sympathised with the opinions and feelings of the Movement party on that occasion, and at once proclaimed himself the friend of the Government which had been so suddenly ejected, and the relentless opponent of that which had succeeded it. He buried in the dust all his past differences with the Melbourne Ministry, individually and collectively, and laid aside all his own peculiar opinions, in order that he might more effectually grapple with what he regarded as the common foe. For the first time his great talents then began to have full scope; and from that moment to the present, he has acted with the most consummate judgment and tact—in so far as the interested views of his party are concerned—and with a corresponding effect. The result has been to confer on himself an importance, and invest himself with a power, for good or evil, incomparably greater than the importance which attaches to, or the power that is possessed by, any

other individual of the present day. In fact, the Duke of Wellington was, after all, quite right, when he said that no man has possessed so much power in this country since the revolution of 1688.

Mr. O'Connell is a man of the highest order of genius. There is not a member in the house who, in this respect, can for a moment be put in comparison with him. You see the greatness of his genius in almost every sentence he utters. There are others—Sir Robert Peel, for example—who have much more tact and greater dexterity in debate; but in point of genius none approach to him. It ever and anon bursts forth with a brilliancy and effect which are quite overwhelming. You have not well recovered from the overpowering surprise and admiration caused by one of his brilliant effusions, when another flashes upon you and produces the same effect. You have no time, nor are you in a condition to weigh the force of his arguments; you are taken captive wherever the speaker chooses to lead you, from beginning to end. If there be untenable propositions and inconclusive reasonings in his speech, you can only detect them when he has resumed his seat, and his voice no longer greets your ear. What greatly adds to the effect of the effusions of Mr. O'Connell's genius is, that you see at once they are perfectly sponta-

neous, the result of the feeling of the moment, and not of careful thought in a previous preparation of his speech. I have known him, times without number, both in the house and elsewere, make some most brilliant and most effective allusions to circumstances which had only occurred either while speaking, or immediately before he commenced his address. The reference to the "last rose of summer," in the case of Mr. Walter, as noticed in the short sketch I have given of that gentleman, was one among innumerable other instances of a similar kind.

One of the most extraordinary attributes in Mr. O'Connell's oratory is the ease and facility with which he can make a transition from one topic to another. "From grave to gay, from lively to severe," never costs him an effort. He seems, indeed, to be himself insensible of the transition. I have seen him begin his speech by alluding to topics of an affecting nature, in such a manner as to excite the deepest sympathy towards the sufferers in the mind of the most unfeeling person present. I have seen, in other words—I speak with regard to particular instances—the tear literally glistening in the eyes of men altogether unused to the melting mood, and in a moment afterwards, by a transition from the grave to the humorous, I have seen the

whole audience convulsed with laughter. On the other hand, I have often heard him commence his speech in a strain of the most exquisite humour, and by a sudden transition to deep pathos, produce the stillness of death in a place in which, but one moment before, the air was rent with shouts of laughter. His mastery over the passions is the most perfect I ever witnessed. He can touch,—and touch with inimitable effect,—every chord in the human breast. The passions of his audience are mere playthings in his hand. If he cannot "call spirits from the vasty deep," he can do as he pleases with the spirits of those on the confines of the earth. Nor is Mr. O'Connell's complete power over the passions confined either to a refined or to an unintellectual audience. It is equally great in both cases. His oratory tells with the same effect whether he addresses the "first assembly of gentlemen in the world," or the ragged and ignorant rabble of Dublin.

A very striking instance of the powerful impression he is capable of producing, occurred at a dinner given at Hackney, in July last, to celebrate the successful registration of the Liberal electors in the Tower Hamlets. There were about two hundred and fifty persons present, including several members of Parliament. On that ocasion he dwelt

with so much eloquence and pathos on the fact of a poor innocent girl in Ireland being killed by the soldiery while enforcing the collection of tithes,—of which circumstance intelligence had only been received that morning,—that there was hardly a dry eye in the meeting, and almost every person present, immediately on the conclusion of his speech, rose from his seat, and rushing up to him, shook him most cordially by the hand, although the great majority were strangers to him. Modern times cannot furnish a parallel to this splendid proof of the effect produced by oratory.

Mr. O'Connell does not excel as a reasoner. His speeches are seldom argumentative, and when they are intended to be so, they are by no means happy His great *forte*, when he seeks to discomfit an opponent, is to laugh or banter him out of his positions. And here again he stands alone: no man in the house at all approaches him in the effectiveness of his wit and ridicule; and yet there is no man, unless provoked to it, who indulges in fewer personalities.

Mr. O'Connell's style is not polished or elegant; but it is terse and vigorous. He is fond of short, pithy sentences. His style reminds me, in some measure, of that of Tacitus. His ideas flow too rapidly on him to allow him to elaborate his dic-

tion. As Mr. Shiel once observed, in one of his series of "Sketches of the Irish Bar," which appeared ten or eleven years ago, in the *New Monthly Magazine*, "Mr. O'Connell, with the improvidence of his country, flings a brood of robust thoughts into the world, without a rag to cover them."

With most men it requires an effort of no ordinary kind to hit on a few tolerable ideas. In Mr. O'Connell's mind, they grow up naturally, and with a luxuriance which, if there be propriety in the expression, is inconvenient to him. I have known his mind to be so overcharged with ideas, as to render him miserable until he got an opportunity of ridding himself of a portion of them, by "flinging them abroad on the world," in prodigal profusion.

Mr. O'Connell is not a graceful speaker, either as respects the management of his voice or his gesture. He has a broad Irish accent, which, though by no means unpleasant, falls somewhat strangely on an English ear. His voice is rich, clear, strong, and often musical. It is capable of being modulated with the best effect; but the art of modulation is one which Mr. O'Connell seems never to have studied. The intonations of his voice are never regulated by any artificial rule: they are regulated, unconsciously to himself, by

his feelings alone. If, therefore, the subject on which he is speaking be not one involving important principles, or one which appeals to his feelings, there is a degree of coldness about his manner, and a monotony about the tones of his voice, which are sure to make a person who never heard him before, go away with an unfavourable impression of his talents, and wondering how he could ever have attained to so much popularity. Sir Robert Peel, Lord Stanley, and several other members appear excellent speakers, whenever, and on whatever subject, they open their mouths; with Mr. O'Connell it is otherwise. Even his happiest efforts, though, as I have already stated, most effective, are not graceful specimens of oratory. In fact, the very circumstance I have mentioned, of his ideas flowing so rapidly on him, must, of necessity, mar the gracefulness of his speaking. He sometimes—not often—stammers slightly, simply from two or more ideas struggling at the same moment in his mind for priority of birth. I have often known him, in this conflict of ideas, break off abruptly in the middle of a sentence, which he would never afterwards finish, owing to some brilliant thought suggesting itself at the moment. A person of less impetuous and more artificial mind, would first finish the sen-

tence, and then give expression to the new idea which had occurred to him.

Mr. O'Connell's gesture is also very deficient in gracefulness. He puts himself into an endless v a riety of attitudes, every one of which is awkward. At one time you see him with his head and body stooping, and his right arm partially extended; at another, and perhaps the next moment, you see him with his head thrown back, and his arms placed a-kimbo on his breast. Then, again, you see him stretching out his neck, and making wry faces, as if about to undergo the process of decapitation. If you withdraw your eyes a few seconds from him, you see him, when you again look at him, with both his arms raised above his head, and his fists as firmly clenched as if about to engage in a regular Donnybrook row. Then again you see him apply both his hands to his wig—he wears a wig—with as much violence at if about to tear it in pieces, but instead of this it turns out that he has only carefully adjusted it. But the most singular thing I ever heard of his doing in the course of the delivery of any of his speeches, was that of untying and taking off his cravat, when in one of the best parts of his speech, in 1834, on the Repeal of the Union, and when he had worked himself up to the

utmost enthusiasm of manner. I was not in the house at the time, but was credibly assured this was a fact.

The great characteristics of Mr. O'Connell's manner, are its boldness, its fervour, and its utter disregard of all artificial forms. You see, as Mr. Shiel observes, the impetuous Irish blood revelling in his veins. Agitation or excitement is necessary to his very being—as much so as the air he breathes. He is in his element when in the midst of the political storm and tempest and whirlwind. I once heard him say, that independently of the great object for which he is struggling, he exults in the struggle itself. A state of quietness and tranquillity would be insupportable to him. If his country had no wrongs to be redressed, if no materials for agitation existed, he would hardly deem life desirable. Like Alexander the Great, who sat down and wept when he had conquered all that was then known of the world, because there was no other field for the gratification of his military propensities,—Mr. O'Connell, though he would rejoice on account of his countrymen, would feel unutterably wretched on his own, were a political millenium to take place in Ireland.

He is always in excellent spirits. You never see him cast down or dejected. In the most adverse circumstances, his faith in the eventual triumph of

the great cause of justice and humanity, is unbounded. It never wavers for a moment. He always has his eye fixed on the sunny side of the picture. Hence he is ever cheerful. You see a perpetual smile on his countenance, whether he be addressing the House or reclining in his seat, whether in the family circle or haranguing the populace at the Corn Exchange.

Mr. O'Connell is said to be a man of great generosity and kindness of heart in private life. A striking instance of his generosity was afforded in the case of D'Esterre, whom he killed in a duel. Not only did he feel such strong "compunctious visitings," because he had shed the blood of a fellow-being—though he was the challenged, not the challenging party—as caused him to "register a vow in heaven" never under any circumstances to fight another duel; but he felt that he had done an irreparable injury to the widow of his deceased antagonist, and therefore offered to settle an annuity of £150 upon her for life. The Corporation of Dublin, however, prevailed upon her not to accept Mr. O'Connell's generous offer, by engaging to settle an adequate allowance on her out of their own funds. This was the least they could do, as it was for the purpose of vindicating the Corporation from the epithet "beggarly," which

Mr. O'Connell had applied to it, that her husband had called him out, and received the wound which ended in his death. I mention this because the circumstances connected with that duel are not generally known.

Mr. O'Connell's person is tall and athletic. His frame is one of the most muscular in the house, especially about the shoulders. If any of his enemies were to attempt to put their threats of personal chastisement into execution once, they would not, I am sure, attempt it a second time. If compelled, in self-defence, to play the pugilist, I am satisfied there are very few men in the country who would prove a match for him.

He has not only, as I have already observed, a perpetual flow of excellent spirits, but he seems as healthy and of as vigorous a constitution, notwithstanding the wear and tear of sixty-one years, most of which have been spent in hard and constant labour,—as if his age were only thirty. It is this circumstance, coupled with that of most of his ancestors having lived to nearly one hundred years of age, which has caused him to adopt the singular notion that he is to live other thirty years yet, making his age, at the supposed time of his death, ninety-six.

His face, like his person, is large. It is round,

but can hardly be called fat. His complexion has a freshness and ruddiness about it, which are indicative both of his good health and excellent spirits. His nose is rather flat, and is slightly cocked up. He has dark, laughing eyes, expressive at once of benevolence and intellect. His forehead has nothing peculiar about it. It is by no means fine; at least so far as his wig will allow one to judge. His hair—namely of his wig—is dark brown, and judging from its rough and uproarious appearance, it is not much troubled with a comb. He invariably wears a dark green surtout, except on St. Patrick's day, or when at some dinner party, when his coat is black and of the usual cut. The brim of his hat is broader than that of any Quaker. He always wears his hat cocked on the right side of his head, in the manner so common among sailors. His whole appearance, indeed, is like that of a ship captain, for which he is often taken by strangers. When sitting in the house, his usual position is that of having his right leg over his left. His son Maurice, to whom he is particularly attached, though devotedly fond of all his family,* often sits

* Mr. O'Connell has three sons in the House—Morgan, Maurice, and John. Neither of them hardly ever speaks. I do not recollect ever hearing Morgan utter a syllable. I have heard John deliver himself of some dozen or fourteen sentences,

beside him, and I have repeatedly seen him, in the most affectionate manner, take Maurice's hand in his own, and keep his hold of it for a considerable length of time.

Among the Irish members Mr. SHIEL ranks next to Mr. O'Connell, both in talents and influence. He is in person a man of very diminutive stature. He is much below the middle size. His face is proportionably small. His complexion is dark, and his hair black. His eyes are dark and piercing, and his whole physiognomy indicates the quickness and hastiness which are the most prominent qualities in his character. His features are deficient in regularity, but are by no means unpleasant. His

sentences, on one or two occasions, on some unimportant subject. Maurice made a respectable speech which lasted an hour, in August last, in moving for a Committee of Inquiry in General Darling's case. His manner is easy but tame. Morgan is most like to his father; but is neither so tall nor so robust, by a good deal. He is somewhat of a fop in his dress. Maurice, on the other hand, is careless about his personal appearance, except when he is going to speak, when he very carefully oils and combs his hair. He is rather tall and slender in person. His hair and complexion are fair. John is much under the middle size, and slenderly made. He has a good face, is of dark complexion, and has black hair. He dresses with taste, but there is no foppery about him. Neither of them has a particle of the genius or talent of their father.

chin slightly protrudes. In his dress he is careless. His linen is not of the finest manufacture for which his country is distinguished, nor can his washerwoman's bills be any very serious item in his weekly expenditure. There was more truth than was generally supposed in the statement of the *Standard*, that he went as one of the deputation to the King to present the answer of the Commons to his Majesty's most gracious address at the opening of the present Parliament,—with a shirt by no means remarkable for its cleanness, and in clothes which had seen better days, but which, even when they came from the hands of the tailor, were by no means, either as to cut or colour, particularly appropriate for the presence of royalty. These are not the *Standard's* words, but they embody the facts contained in the statement of that journal; and that statement I can confirm from my own personal observation on the occasion in question. I take the secret of the thing to be, that the address being presented on a Saturday,—that, as Dr. Johnson would have said, was not "clean-shirt day" with Mr. Shiel. His dress on that occasion was exactly the same in every respect as it usually is, namely, a black silk handkerchief, tied very carelessly around his neck, a brown coat, with dark vest and pantaloons.

Mr. Shiel is a man of superior talents, and of considerable genius. There are few men in the House who confine themselves more strictly to the subject of debate. His ideas are always good, often striking and brilliant. His language is at once eloquent and forcible. His sentences are remarkable for their brevity; but so full is his mind of ideas that almost every sentence, however short, contains one. He has a fine imagination, and when he gives loose reins to it, his diction is glowing and poetical. He is always listened to with great attention. He is liked by all parties in the house. He is of a kindly and liberal disposition. He never indulges in personalities, and is not often the object of vituperation on the part of the Tories. He has a high sense of honour; but is so careful not to trasgress the bounds of gentlemanly language himself, when dealing with an opponent, that he hardly ever gets into a personal quarrel. The only one I recollect his having got into was with Lord Althorp, in the instance I have referred to in speaking of Col. Leith Hay. And that was with him a matter of necessity, not of choice. He only intimated that he would hold his lordship responsible for the imputation, when the latter refused to give up the name of the person on whose information he grounded his charge.

Mr. Shiel though an effective, is a most awkward

speaker. His utterance is more rapid than that of any other member in the house. He speaks with such amazing rapidity, that the most expert reporter in the gallery is unable to follow him. Hence, when he is anxious to be reported at length he is obliged to write out his own speeches, and send a copy to the office of one of the leading newspapers, from which the other journals procure slips when put in types. Formerly, he used to write out his speeches before-hand, and carry them with him in his pocket wherever he went to speak; but having some years since given a copy of his speech to the proprietors of an evening paper some hours before the time appointed for the delivery of it, and the clamour and uproar of the meeting at which it was to have been delivered—it was a meeting in favour of the Catholic Claims, held in 1829, on Penenden Heath—being so great as to prevent his proceeding, while the Journal in question represented him as having "spoken his speech," and gave four or five columns of matter as his, of which he never uttered a word,—Mr. Shiel, ever since this "untoward occurrence," has not only never given his speech to any reporter until the actual delivery of it, but does not until then write it out for the use of the newspapers.

Mr. Shiel does not speak often. Mr. O'Connell

makes at least twenty speeches for his one. Mr. Shiel writes out at full length, and commits to memory, all his speeches on important questions. He hardly ever attempts extempore speaking. I am surprised at his want of confidence in this respect. Judging from the only specimen I ever heard of his extempore speaking, I should conclude his fame would not suffer were he often to get up on the spur of the moment. The speech I refer to was one of some length. It was in the middle of last session, in reply to one of Sir Robert Inglis, in which that right honourable Baronet charged the Roman Catholic members with having, by voting for the affirmative of the Church Property Appropriation Question, violated the oaths they took on entering Parliament not to do any thing hostile to the interests of the Church of England, as by law established. A happier or more powerful speech I have seldom heard. His indignation at the charge was so great, that he could not, notwithstanding his diffidence as to his qualifications for extempore speaking, confine it to his own bosom.

When Mr. Shiel is going to speak, he does not rise, like any other member, but literally leaps or jumps off his seat on the floor, as if about to run out of the house. The fact is, he is quite the crea-

ture of impulse. Every thing he does, he does in as great haste as if it were a life and death affair. His motions when addressing the House are quite mercurial. Not content with the most redundant gesture, in so far as his arms are concerned, he sometimes bends his body to such a degree, that you are sometimes not without fears he may lose his equilibrium, and fall, head foremost prostrate on the floor. At other times, he advances to the table, gives three or four lusty strokes on the box, and then suddenly retreats backwards four or five steps. In a few seconds, you see him, by another sudden bound, leaning over the table, and stretching out his neck, as if trying to reach some honourable member opposite,—his eye fixed on him, meanwhile, with as great an intensity of gaze as if he were determined to flash conviction on him by the piercing glances of his optics, should he fail to produce it by the words of his mouth.

Mr. Shiel's articulation is very indistinct. This arises partly from the extraordinary rapidity of his delivery, but chiefly from the screeching tones of his voice, and the loud key at which he pitches it. His manner in this respect is unlike any thing I ever heard either in the house or elsewhere; it is impossible, by words, to convey any adequate

idea of it. His voice has often such an irregular effect, that you would think the sound came from between the wall and the ceiling opposite the place whence he addresses the House. A stranger is, indeed, sometimes apt to mistake him for a foreigner. An instance of this occured last Session, when a gentleman in the gallery, who was not aware that Mr. Shiel was the person then speaking, and forgetting for the moment that none but natives of the United Kingdom were eligible to a seat in the house, innocently inquired of another gentleman, who was sitting next to him, whether that was not a foreigner who was then addressing the House?

Mr. Shiel is a man of very considerable literary attainments. He has written various articles, which have been much admired, in the *New Monthly Magazine*, and other periodicals. To the *New Monthly*, when under the editorship of his friend Mr. Thomas Campbell, he was a regular contributor for some years. The account of the proceedings of the deputation, of whom he was one, sent over to this country by the Roman Catholic Association of Dublin, and the "Sketches of the Irish Bar," which appeared in the *New Monthly* some years since, were from his pen. He has also written several tragedies, in all of which there

are many beautiful passages, glowing and burning with poetic spirit; but, as a whole, they are not admired, and consequently have not been successful.

Mr. Shiel is in the prime of life, his age being only forty-two. There is, therefore, reason to expect his reputation will rise still higher. It used to be said that Mr. O'Connell was jealous of him, fearing he might one day become his rival, and that consequently he did not regard him with any very friendly feelings. There never was a more unfounded insinuation against Mr. O'Connell. He is one of Mr. Shiel's greatest friends, and warmest admirers. There is not a man in the house, when Mr. Shiel speaks, more cordial or liberal in his cheers than Mr. O'Connell. The impression of each of these men is, that there is ample scope for all the talents, and patriotism, and exertions of both, in the present state of Ireland.

Mr. Feargus O'Connor's name is too familiar to the public to be passed over in a work of this kind, though at the moment I write he be not a member of Parliament; especially as, from the circumstances under which he was unseated, and his popularity among the Radicals in England as well as Ireland, there is little chance of his being long excluded. In person he is moderately tall, and of a firm compact make, without any thing approach-

ing to corpulency. He is red-haired, and of very fair complexion. There is a slight protusion in his brow, which gives that part of his face about the eyes somewhat of a sunken or retiring appearance. His nose is prominent, not from its size, for it is rather small, but from its cocked-up conformation. He is yet but a young man, his age being about forty.

Mr. Feargus O'Connor is a man of more than respectable talents. He is a fluent and graceful speaker: the chief blemish in his speeches, is that they are generally too wordy. His voice has something of a bass tone in it; he cannot modulate or alter its tones: he continues and ends in exactly the same key as he began. He is a man of sterling integrity in his public character. There is not a more honest man in the house. No earthly consideration will induce him on any occasion—even on a single occasion—to swerve from his principles. Rather than act contrary to his convictions of what is right, he would a thousand times sooner peril his seat. I recollect one occasion, towards the close of the Session of 1834, in which he strenuously opposed Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Shiel, and all the other Irish Liberal members, on some question of Irish Policy, the nature of which I now forget, —with the fullest impression on his mind, that the

consequence of the course he was pursuing would be the loss of his seat. He alluded to the probability of such being the penalty of the line of conduct he adopted on the occasion, adding, that if his anticipations should be realized, he would most cheerfully retire into the solitude of private life, consoled with the reflection that he had acted according to the dictates of his conscience. Had Mr. O'Connell thought fit to quarrel with Mr. O'Connor for his conduct on the occasion I refer to, there was no question that he could have prevented Mr. O'Connor's re-election either by the constituency of the County of Cork, which he then represented, or any other constituency in Ireland. Mr. O'Connell, however, had too high an opinion of Mr. O'Connor's talents and integrity of character, to have ever dreamed of excluding him from Parliament on any such ground. He has, on many occasions, been one of Mr. O'Connell's most zealous and most efficient coadjutors in the efforts of the latter to procure redress for the evils of Ireland.

Mr. Henry Grattan, member for Co. Meath, is a name with which every reader of the debates in Parliament must be familiar. He is the eldest son of the great Henry Grattan, one of the ablest and most zealous, as well as most eloquent, patriots which Ireland ever produced. He has much of the

attachment to his native country which blazed in the breast of his illustrious father; but unhappily he has not a tithe of his talent. Indeed, he cannot be said to be a man of talent at all. He, however speaks tolerably well. If there are no traces of genius, no approaches to eloquence, there is always an abundant infusion of burning Liberalism in his speeches. It is impossible for him to give expression to half-a-dozen sentences without getting into a downright passion, and indulging in such violence of gesture, that it is quite unsafe for any member to sit with his head within reach of his right arm. He is by far the best specimen of a wild Irishman—"wild," in Lady Morgan's sense of the term—in the house. He is open, generous, straight-forward, in all the relations both of public and private life. In stature he is tall, without being robust. His hair is dark, and his complexion has something of sallowness about it. His face is angular. His general appearance is gentlemanly, and he seems in excellent health and spirits. His age is upwards of forty. He is often confounded with Mr. Thomas Grattan, the author of "High Ways and Bye Ways."

Mr. Sharman Crawford, the member for Dundalk, is not a man whose talents will ever bring him prominently before the public; for these are

not above mediocrity. But the active part he takes, both in and out of the house, in every thing that relates to Ireland, joined to the extreme honesty of his character and liberality of his opinions, makes him deservedly respected both in his native country and in the house. He is a man of great modesty. He wants confidence in himself. Hence, in the delivery of his speeches, there is no animation and scarcely any gesture. He is the only Protestant member from Ireland who acts almost uniformly with the Liberal or Catholic Irish members; for the terms are convertible in this case. His person is rather above the usual height, and slenderly made. His complexion is dark, and his hair black. His face is thin and angular, and is slightly pitted with the small pox. The expression of his countenance is pensive, with a tinge of melancholy about it. He is one of the most humane men in the house. Judging from appearances, one would conclude that he is in delicate health. His age is about forty-five.

Mr. Ruthven, the colleague of Mr. O'Connell in the representation of the city of Dublin, is entitled to a few words of notice on account of his eccentricities. He stands alone in the house in all the leading elements of his character. "None but himself can be his parallel." Last year he not only

brought himself into notice, but kept himself before the House and the public by moving the adjournment of the House, night after night, at a certain hour, no matter how important the business before it, or who was speaking at the time. Whenever he himself attempted to speak—and he often did, in the literal sense of the terms, "trespass on the attention of the House"—he was sure to be assailed with all sorts of yawns, coughs, groans, &c. He soon, however, made the grand discovery, that an effectual, and the only effectual, means of putting down such interruptions, was by threatening, if not allowed to proceed, to move the adjournment of the House.

Mr. Ruthven is altogether so singular a person that is impossible to convey any idea of him to those who have not seen him. Though he often speaks, he cannot put two sentences of ordinary English together. When he gives utterance to a sentence of any length, the chances are two to one that the latter part of it has no connection with the first. In fact, though he has the name of being a good scholar, he cannot speak the English language at all. He often tries to correct himself, and stammers away at an extraordinary rate in the attempt, but he only in the end flounders the more deeply in the mire of bad English.

His voice has a curious, unearthly kind of sound. He speaks with sufficient strength of lungs to make such a noise as is heard in all parts of the house, but from the unusual tones of his voice, aggravated by a bad articulation, what he says is often known to himself alone. He is not now yawned or coughed at for the reason I have mentioned, but he is not listened to when he addresses the House. He often speaks what are called Irish bulls, to the great amusement of honourable members. He sometimes rises for the purpose of telling the House that he has nothing to say on the subject before it, but that as he is on his legs, he may as well say that he will give his vote in a particular way. But though Mr. Ruthven speaks a great deal of nonsense, he certainly does, on many occasions, take a common-sense view of the questions before the House, and assign, though in wretched English, very good reasons for the course he has made up his mind to pursue.

His personal appearance is made to match with the peculiar conformation of his mind. He is of the middle size, and of a full make without being corpulent. He is slightly hunch-backed, or at least his mode of walking gives him somewhat of that appearance. His manners are awkward in the extreme. He looks like a person newly imported from

the country, and who has all his life been a working farmer. He is one of those men who are completely proof against the march of manners. Suppose he were to live for a thousand years to come—his present age is about fifty-five—he would not be a whit more advanced in the practice of the art of politeness than he is at this moment. He feels a thorough contempt for the very name of Chesterfield. If any one would put that nobleman's "Letters to his Son" into his hand, he would toss them into the fire the next moment, as if there were pollution in the very touch. His hair is beginning to turn grey. His head is large and massy. His nose is large; so are his eyes. His complexion is ruddy. The expression of his countenance corresponds with the sketch I have given of his character. In his dress he is rather careless, without being slovenly: his clothes never fit him. He is always to be seen moving slowly about on the floor of the house. He has no fixed seat; at one time you see him—where from his principles and sympathies he ought always to be—seated beside the Irish Liberal members; at another you see him on the opposite side in the very midst of the Tories. Notwithstanding his eccentricities he is a man who knows well when any personal affront is intended him, and there are few men in the house who will more readily resent it.

I do not think that any other of the Irish Liberal members stand out with a sufficient prominence to render a notice of them necessary. They are in number about sixty, all of whom, with two or three exceptions, are Roman Catholics, and are remarkable for their unity of purpose and action.

CHAPTER XV.

LITERARY MEMBERS.

MR. EDWARD LYTTON BULWER — LORD FRANCIS EGERTON—DR. BOWRING—MR. BUCKINGHAM.

Several members of some pretensions to literary talent have, with greater propriety, been included under other heads. The most distinguished literary man in the house is Mr. E. L. Bulwer, member for Lincoln, and author of *Pelham*, *Eugene Aram*, &c. He does not speak often. When he does, his speeches are not only previously turned over with great care in his mind, but are written out at full length, and committed as carefully to memory as if he were going to recite them at some annual examination of a public school. He is artificial throughout—the mere creature of self-discipline—in all his exhibitions in the house. You see art and affectation in his very personal appearance—in his mode of dressing, and in his every movement. One of his school-fellows has told me, that at school he was as much noted for his attention to the cut of his coat,

as to his intellectual pursuits. He is the same man still. He is a great patron of the tailor and *frisseur*. He is always dressed in the extreme of fashion. He sometimes affects a modesty of demeanour; but it is too transparent to deceive any one who has the least discernment. You see at once that he is on stilts; that it costs him an effort even to assume the virtue which he has not. His manner of speaking is very affected: the management of his voice is especially so. But for this he would be a pleasant speaker. His voice, though weak, is agreeable, and he speaks with considerable fluency. His speeches are usually argumentative. You see at once that he is a person of great intellectual acquirements, though his speeches appear much better in print than when you hear them delivered. His articulation is impaired by the affected manner of his pronunciation, and the rapidity of his utterance. His favourite subject in the house, is the Repeal of the Taxes on Newspapers. On that question he makes a motion every Session. I believe him to be sincerely anxious for the abolition of those duties: but, had he, last year, not yielded to the previously expressed solicitations of the friends of Mr. Spring Rice to withdraw his motion, the newspaper taxes would by this time have ceased to exist. There were a considerable majority in the house at the time,

in favour of his motion, and I recollect observing the exultation expressed in their countenances, at their anticipated triumph. But the secret of the matter was, that he brought forward his motion at that time, not with the intention of carrying it, but for the mere sake of a little display, coupled, perhaps, with a wish to make an appearance of redeeming a pledge he had previously given, to bring the subject forward in the course of the Session.

Mr. Bulwer is a fine-looking man. He is rather tall and handsome. His complexion is fair, and his hair of a dark brown colour. His nose is aquiline and prominent, and his face angular. He usually wears a green surtout. He is young; I cannot give his precise age, but I am certain it cannot exceed thirty-five. He is understood to average from £1,200 to £1,500 a-year by his literary labours.

Lord Francis Egerton is better known as a literary man by his previous title of Lord F. L. Gower. His literary reputation chiefly rests on his knowledge of the German language, and several of his translations from the poetical works of Goëthe. He has also written several small original poetical pieces, which possess the merit of sweetness of sentiment, elegance of style, and harmony of versification; but they want vigour and originality. He is a nobleman of a cultivated mind, and of varied information, es-

pecially on the subject of modern literature. He hardly ever speaks, and then but very indifferently. He spoke for twenty-five or thirty minutes on the question of the answer to the King's Speech, at the opening of last Session. Being a Tory, though not an ultra one, he, of course, supported the Government of Sir Robert Peel on that occasion. His voice is harsh and husky, and not very strong. There is no variety either in it or in his gesture. Both are monotonous in a high degree. In person he is tall, and well made. His hair is black, and his complexion dark. His face is partially angular, and his features regular, but with a somewhat pensive expression. He is much respected by his own party, both for his private worth and high family connexions.

Dr. Bowring, the member for Kilmarnock, is one of the new members. He is a man of varied, though not of profound literary acquirements. He has written, and written well, in almost every department of literature. For some years he conducted the *Westminster Review*. His political articles in that periodical were more distinguished for the ease and accuracy of their style, than for originality of conception or comprehensive views. It is as a polyglot he is most celebrated; here he stands unrivalled. He has a critical knowledge

of almost every language in Europe, and has given translations from the poetry of most of them. He has written some original poetry, but it has little pretensions to merit, beyond the elegance of the style and the amiable feeling it, for the most part, breathes. He is not a good speaker. His delivery has something drawling about it. His voice is clear, and capable, with proper management, of being made pleasant to the ear; but he seems to have no control over it: he speaks often, but never long. He has not realised the expectations of his friends since his admission into the house. He has committed two great errors. The first is, his speaking too often on topics of trifling importance: the second is the circumstance of his never having brought forward a motion on any question of commanding interest, nor ever made a speech of any length, on any great question brought forward by others. He is most regular in his attendance in the house: I know of few members who are more so; he is always to be seen bustling about on the floor, or in the side galleries, with a bundle of papers in his hand. I do not recollect ever seeing him, on a single occasion, without a large quantity of parliamentary papers in his hand or under his arm.

Dr. Bowring is in person rather below the middle size. His hair is black, and his complexion pale.

He is short-sighted, and is consequently obliged to wear glasses. His face is angular, and his chin slightly protrudes. His physiognomy is rather expressive of mildness and good-nature—qualities which he does possess in an eminent degree—than of any thing intellectual. He is not old: judging from his appearance, I should think he is not much above forty. If he does not make a shining member, he promises to be one of the most useful; for he unites in a high degree the closest attention to his parliamentary duties with a sound judgment and the strictest integrity.

Mr. Buckingham, the member for Sheffield, is a person whose name has been, for the last eight or ten years, most prominently before the British public. He is generally supposed to have something of the quack in him. I am not sure that the charge is altogether unfounded, though I am persuaded he has often been actuated by the most disinterested motives in cases in which the general impression has been quite the reverse. I believe he may—unconsciously I have no doubt—have exaggerated the extent of his pecuniary losses by the arbitrary proceedings of the Indian Government; but it cannot be denied that he did, in addition to the abstract tyranny and injustice of those proceedings, suffer in purse, or perhaps, more properly speaking,

prospectively, to a very large amount. That he has kept his persecutions, by the Indian Government, before the public, with a prominence and steadiness at which other persons similarly circumstanced would have shrunk back, is not to be denied; but great allowances are to be made for him, when it is recollected that he lost not a part, but the whole of his fortune, by his deportation from the East-Indies, and that ever since he has had to struggle with all the horrors of poverty, sometimes, indeed, with something approaching to absolute want.

Mr. Buckingham is a man of more than respectable literary attainments. His travels in Mesapotamia and other countries in the East, are among the best that have been published respecting those countries. His *Oriental Herald* also, a great part of which was written by himself, was a Journal of considerable merit. The great fault of his style is its extreme wordiness.

As a member of Parliament he has not earned much reputation. On first entering the House he made great efforts, by repeated speeches of considerable length, to acquire for himself a name as a legislator; but the attempt was quite a failure. There was a strong prejudice against him, owing, in a great measure to the general impression that he was a political adventurer. When he rose to

address the House, the circumstance became a signal, sometimes for forced coughs, yawning, &c. and always for inattention and other marks of want of due respect. The result has been that he now scarcely ever speaks at all. Nor was he by any means regular in his attendance in the House last Session, though previously he was one of the most exemplary in this respect, out of the whole six hundred and fifty-eight.

Mr. Buckingham is a fine speaker. His manner is remarkably easy and pleasant. There is not a more fluent speaker in the House. His voice is sweet and melodious; but there is a sameness in its tones. His action is graceful, but is deficient in energy. He can speak at any time and on any subject. In person he is tall and handsome. Notwithstanding all the hardships and fatigues he underwent in his extensive journeyings in tropical countries, he appears to be of a vigorous constitution and in excellent health. His complexion is fair and his hair of a light grey. He has a fine forehead. His features are regular, but distinctly marked. His face is full, and has something very intellectual about it. In his appearance and manners, he is quite the gentleman. He is about fifty years of age.

CHAPTER XVI.

RELIGIOUS MEMBERS.

SIR ANDREW AGNEW—MR. BUXTON—MR. ANDREW JOHNSTON—MR. WILKS—MR. BAINES—MR. FINCH—COLONEL PERCEVAL—MAJOR CUMMING BRUCE—MR. POULTER—MR. SINCLAIR.

The decided course which Sir Andrew Agnew, member for the Wigton district of burghs, has taken for some years past on all questions of a religious character which have been brought before the House, and the notoriety, especially, into which he has brought himself by his perseverance, session after session, in defiance of all the ridicule which has been heaped upon him, with his Sabbath Bills, entitle him to a priority of notice in this chapter. His appearance exhibits nothing particularly serious, He looks soft and good-natured rather than grave or serious, nor is there any thing in his manner, when he rises to address the House, which at all marks the zealot. His mode of speaking is remarkably cold and destitute of animation. He

appears as if he were timid; and yet he is not so. Had he not the quality of moral courage in a very high degree, he would never have persisted in his measures for the better observance of the Sabbath, in the face of the ridicule he has always had to encounter. His voice is either weak, or he does not exercise his lungs in any degree when addressing the House; nor does he use much gesture. He extends his right arm, and gently moves it up and down, which may be said to constitute the whole of his gesticulation. He is a man of easy temper; not at all disposed to take offence at what an opponent says; on the contrary, I have repeatedly seen him smile when some of the Radical party were heaping ridicule on his peculiar religious opinions. He never speaks, except on his own Sabbath Bills, or on those brought in from time to time by others. His speeches are seldom of any length. In his political opinions he is moderately liberal. In person he is tall and slender. His complexion is sallow, and his hair of a dark brown colour. His face is sharp and angular. There is a strong resemblance in the form of his nose to the beak of an eagle. He is not old. I do not know his exact age; but it is, I have no doubt, under forty.

Mr. F. Buxton, the member for Weymouth, is one who takes a great interest in all questions of a

religious nature. His exertions for the emancipation of the West-India slaves, are too well known to require any particular allusion to them. They had their origin in religious principle. He is a Dissenter. His piety is decided, without being tinged with fanaticism. The great question in which he felt the deepest interest, was that of the Emancipation of the Negroes in the West-India Colonies: when it was before the House, he invariably spoke. Since it has been in a great measure settled, he seldom addresses the House. His voice is strong, but pleasant. There is much simplicity in his manner of speaking. He makes no pretensions to, nor efforts at oratory. He hardly uses any gesture, except it be in the moderate movement of his right arm. He is a man of respectable talents. There is always much good sense in what he says, and occasionally some happy ideas. He is listened to with attention by the House. In fact, his irreproachable private character, and his consistent public conduct, could not fail to command respect from men of all shades of political feeling. He is, in person, very tall and muscular. He is full six feet two in height, and of proportional stoutness. He usually wears a blue coat. His clothes are always good, but they are never well made. He is slightly pitted with the small-pox.

His features are distinctly marked. His nose is large, and is made more prominent by its being generally surmounted by a pair of spectacles. He is, as already hinted, greatly esteemed by men of all parties in the house. He is in his fifty-fourth year.

Mr. Andrew Johnston, member for the St. Andrew's district of burghs, has lately become son-in-law to Mr. Buxton. He is a young man, being only about thirty-five years of age. He is about the middle size in personal stature, and of a somewhat slender make. His hair is dark, and his complexion slightly fair. His features are regular, and his countenance has altogether a pleasing aspect. He speaks tolerably well, but not without previously committing what he means to say to memory. The question in which he takes the deepest interest is that of the existing state of church patronage in Scotland. He is for the repeal of the statute of Queen Anne, which took from the male members and hearers of every church, the right of choosing their own pastor, and transferred that right to some one individual having large property in the respective parishes. For the last three or four Sessions he has brought forward a formal motion for the repeal of this statute; but the friends of Ministers have always taken care either that there should be no House on the night

fixed for the motion, or if there were at the commencement of his speech, that it should thin sufficiently, before he had got to the middle of it, to admit of its being counted out. The opinions of the House have consequently never yet been ascertained on this subject, though it be one in which the people of Scotland take the liveliest interest.

The treatment Mr. Johnston has lately received from his constituents is sure to lead to one out of two effects as regards other members. It will either prevent their giving positive pledges to the electors at all, or if they do, they will give those only which they mean in earnest to redeem. At the last election, Mr. Johnston, according to the representations of his constituents, pledged himself to vote for the appropriation of any surplus church property that might be found to exist, to other than ecclesiastical purposes; but when Lord John Russell brought forward his motion, recognizing the right of the State to deal with church property as it thought fit, he did not vote at all. Since then he has been called on, time after time, by large bodies of his constituents, to resign his seat, which they say he also pledged himself on the hustings to do, should a majority of his constituents require such resignation at his hands. He and they give different versions of what he said on

that occasion. Which party is in the right, whether the representative or the represented, I have no means of knowing. If he did break a positive unequivocal pledge, he has been amply punished for it; for his seat must have been one of thorns to him ever since. There can be no justification for a man who makes pledges and breaks them: but I cannot help saying that Mr. Johnston has been hardly dealt with compared with many other honourable members, some of whom have violated their pledges, made in the heat of a hustings speech, by the dozen.

Mr. WILKS, the member for Boston, is the great champion of the Dissenters. In fact, he may be called their representative. In every thing that relates to their interests, he takes the lead in the house. When a measure affecting their rights and privileges is brought forward, one may with certainty conclude from the course he takes, as to the reception such measure will meet with from that numerous body throughout the country. He is a man of respectable talents. As a speaker he is somewhat above mediocrity. He has a rather awkward way of mouthing the words, and sometimes expectorates slightly, but he speaks with ease and some fluency. His voice is not good; it wants clearness, which, in conjunction with his not very distinct articulation,

makes him sometimes difficult to be heard. He is occasionally animated in his manner, and makes a rather effective speech. He is defective in pronouncing the letter *r*. He speaks pretty often, though all his best efforts are on questions affecting the Dissenters. He by no means acquits himself so well in the house as out of it. I have heard him make really excellent and effective speeches at Exeter Hall, and other places, in his capacity of Secretary to the Society for the Protection of Civil and Religious Liberty.

In person, Mr. Wilks is of the middle size, full and well formed. He has a venerable appearance. His face is angular. His nose is prominent, and his eyes are large. His complexion is florid, and his hair of a dark brown. The crown of his head is partially bald. He is nearly sixty years of age. He usually sits on the Opposition side of the house.

Mr. Baines, the member for Leeds, is also a Dissenter. He is a respectable speaker. His voice is clear, but monotonous. He times his utterance to the ear with good taste, and speaks with much ease and accuracy of language. If he is never eloquent he invariably speaks great good sense. His speeches are always short, but pithy and to the point. They would have more effect, if deli-

vered with greater animation. He is a man of extensive information on all subjects connected with manufactures, especially those of Lancashire. He is also intelligent on general topics. He is proprietor of the *Leeds Mercury*, which is conducted by his son, with whom he is sometimes confounded. It was Mr. Baines, junior, and not Mr. Baines, the member, who lately published an able and very elaborate work on the manufactures of Lancashire. He is, however, the author of a *History of Lancashire*. Mr. Baines is much respected in the House. His manners are mild and conciliatory, but very plain. He usually wears a blue coat. In personal height he is about the middle size, but of a robust frame. His hair is red, and his complexion fair. His countenance is pleasing, and rather intelligent. His features are regular. He is what would be called a good-looking man. He is in his sixty-first year.

Mr. FINCH, the member for Stamford, always takes an active part in all proceedings in the house which affect the interests of the Church of England. He is a man of respectable talents, and is a pleasant, though certainly not a showy speaker. His voice is clear, but not strong. He speaks with ease, but never rises to eloquence. He is a man of excellent private character. In his politics he

is Conservative. He occasionally takes a Bible with him in his pocket to the house. When, towards the close of last Session, a keen discussion took place one night relative to some proposed grant of money for the purposes of Education in Ireland, of which grant the Roman Catholics were to receive a part, some honourable member chanced to introduce a verse from the Scriptures, which bore on the point in dispute, when another honourable member—I think it was Mr. Sergeant Jackson, for nearly twenty years Secretary to the Dublin Kildare-street Society,—maintained that the text was not correctly quoted. Several other members gave quite different versions from what either of the first two had given; in short, the floor of the House of Commons became an arena for the display of the biblical knowledge of the members. The controversy—as theological controversies usually do—became very keen as to the literal version of the text in question, when Mr. Finch at once set the matter to rest, by putting his haad into his pocket, and pulling out a very handsome diamond Bible, from which, amidst shouts of laughter, he read the passage in question. If I remember rightly, all the honourable members who took part in the discussion as to the exact wording of the passage, were more or less in error.

Mr. Finch is small in bodily stature, but firmly and compactly made. His face is round, and has a cheerful expression. His complexion is dark, and his hair jet black. His eye-lashes are large, and his eyes have always a laughing appearance. He is about forty years of age.

Colonel PERCEVAL, member for the county of Sligo, is equally zealous with Mr. Finch in his attachment to the Church of England. He is also of the same political opinions. He is above mediocrity as a speaker. He has a finepowerful voice, but it wants variety. He speaks with much ease and fluency, and, without any seeming effort, makes himself heard in all parts of the house. In his manner you see a man of decisive mind and firmness of purpose. His gesture, when speaking, is very gentle. It consists almost exclusively of a slight movement of the right arm. He is good at reply, and is happy at pinning down an opponent to any injudicious admission he has made. He also excels in keeping members to the real question at issue. He is an Orangeman, and ably and boldly vindicates that party from the charges preferred against it by the Irish Liberal members. He never shrinks from grappling with Mr. O'Connell or Mr. Sheil, and I believe Mr. O'Connell thinks him one of the most formidable opponents

he has in the House, in all matters of dispute between the Orange and Roman Catholic parties of Ireland.

Colonel Perceval is, in person, of the usual height, but of a strong muscular frame. He has a fine handsome face. His appearance altogether is that of a perfect gentleman. His age is about forty-five.

Major CUMMING BRUCE, the member for the Inverness district of burghs, and grandson-in-law to Bruce,* the celebrated Abyssinian traveller, has distinguished himself, during the five years he has been in Parliament, by his zealous advocacy of the Church of Scotland as at present constituted. He strenuously opposes every proposition for the slightest alteration in the constitution of that Church. In his political opinions he is a decided Tory. He is a very fair speaker, and a man of considerable talents. His voice has a curious sound, of which it is difficult to convey an idea. It is clear, but has a sort of twang. It is not, however, unpleasant. He speaks easily and with some fluency. He is a man of great moral courage. However unpopular his opinions he never shrinks from a fearless assertion of them. I have heard

* In consequence of his marriage with the grand-daughter of Bruce, the Major has added that of Bruce to his former name of Cumming.

him make some able speeches. Those he makes on religious subjects—and he seldom speaks on any other—have much of a decidedly religious character about them. There are few men in the house better acquainted with the Scriptures, and I have never heard any member quote from the Bible more largely. The House often, in such cases, attempts to put him down, but never with effect. He never loses his presence of mind, and is not to be driven from his purpose.

In person he is tall, and of a slender form. He is in delicate health. His countenance has a studious pensive expression. His complexion is pale, and his hair of a dark brown. His face is angular, and his features are rather large. He is about forty-five years of age.

Mr. Poulter, member for Shaftesbury, has brought himself into some distinction by the bills for the better observance of the Sabbath, which he brought into the house in the Session of 1834, and in that of the year 1835. His views on the subject of the way in which the Sabbath ought to be kept, are not nearly so strict as those of Sir Andrew Agnew. He is willing, for example, to make an exception in favour of the gardeners and green-grocers in Covent Garden and other places, and also in favour of the venders of certain

other kinds of perishable commodities. When a deputation of persons connected with Covent Garden waited on him to remonstrate with him respecting certain provisions of his last Bill, he expressed himself willing to hear any objections to his measure, and to make any alterations and amendments which could be proved to be necessary, adding that he begged it to be distinctly understood he was no Puritan. In politics he is moderately Liberal. He opposed the Government of Sir Robert Peel, and almost invariably supports that of Lord Melbourne. He is a grandson of the late Brownlow North, Bishop of Winchester, He is by profession a barrister, though I believe he does not now practise.

Mr. Poulter is a man of fair talents. He is a good speaker. His voice is both powerful and pleasant, and his utterance is well timed to the ear. His style is clear and correct. He speaks with much ease and fluency. He is a man of excellent private character. Few men have more self-possession when interrupted in speaking, which he sometimes is by certain members who deem the introduction of religious matters in any shape, into the house, an infliction of no ordinary kind. I have repeatedly admired the good temper, perfect coolness, and gentlemanly conduct he has dis-

played on such occasions. In describing one of the general scenes in the house, it will be seen that he was one of the members assailed with the tremendous uproar which was caused on that occasion. Even then, when a man might as well have been attacked by all the Furies in concert, he appeared as calm, collected, and well pleased, as if there had been a breathless silence in the house. He does not speak often, and seldom at any great length at a time.

Mr. Poulter is a handsome-looking man. In personal height he is about the middle size, and of a rather stout and compact make. His complexion is slightly dark, and his hair quite black. He has a fine forehead, and his features, which are regular and prepossessing, have an intelligent expression. He is seemingly about forty years of age.

Mr. Sinclair, the member for Caithness-shire, is the last of the religious members I shall notice. He was formerly, like his father, Sir John Sinclair, the celebrated agricultural and statistical writer, of decided Whig principles, but he took the same view of the Irish Church appropriation question as the Government of Sir Robert Peel, when that question was brought before the House by Lord John Russell—since which time he has uniformly voted and acted with the Conservatives. Like

Mr. Andrew Johnston, Mr. Sinclair has chiefly distinguished himself by his exertions to procure a repeal of the law of patronage with respect to the Church of Scotland. He is a man of respectable talents; but has fallen far short of that emminence in the world to which Lord Byron, who was his school companion and most intimate friend in early life, predicted he would attain. Byron's opinion was, that Mr. Sinclair possessed splendid talents, though at the time he uttered the above prediction they had not been fully developed. Time has only served to show how erroneous are the estimates which the greatest geniuses sometimes form of the intellects of others.

Mr. Sinclair is a passable speaker. His voice is sufficiently audible when he endeavours to make himself heard; at other times, he is but imperfectly heard by those who are most remote from him. His voice is clear and pleasant, but wants flexibility. His gesture is usually moderate, though occasionally he is not without energy of manner. He does not speak often. The best speech I ever heard him make was a short one on the dissolution of the Administration of Sir Robert Peel, and the reconstruction of the Melbourne Government. In this speech there were several clever points. "I have," said he, "refrained from hazarding any remarks as to

the new, or rather renovated Ministerial edifice, until the complete elevation shall stand before the public in all the stateliness of its outline, and in all the symmetry of its proportions. The three divisions of the empire have contributed their respective *quotas* towards promoting its stability and providing for its embellishment. It must be admitted, that consummate discretion and admirable dexterity have been displayed, not only in the choice but in the exclusion of certain materials. Some hypercritics expected to see the main building supported by a colossal column of basalt from the Giant's Causeway ;* but——"

Here Mr. Sinclair was interrupted by Mr. Methuen rising to order, and saying "he could not see what the Giant's Causeway had to do with the question before the House."

Mr. Sinclair resumed.—"I believe that if we were to dig a trench deep enough to reach the foundations, we should find the corner-stone of the edifice so entirely composed of that substance, that if its support were taken away, the whole would at once be laid prostrate on the earth. The fabric of the late Government is now destroyed; and the noble Secretary-at-War (Lord John Russell), who on two late occasions said he would consider that

* The reference here was to Mr. O'Connell.

event a misfortune, may now, like Marius on the ruins of Carthage, wander amid the storied urns and broken columns, indulging in a lugubrious soliloquy on the instability of human greatness, unless the official syrup, which has now been administered, shall operate as a soothing and salutary anodyne to calm his perturbed spirit. With respect to the new Administration, I fear that they will find their position most painful and embarrassing. They will feel themselves compelled to pursue a dubious and vacillating course, now veering towards the Radical reefs of Scylla, and then tacking towards the Conservative quicksands of Charybdis. They will be halting between the Court and the Radicals—anxious to keep well with the one, and yet afraid to break with the other—bold enough to alarm the Tories, and yet too timid to satisfy the Destructives. The consequence of which will at length be, that at an early period of the ensuing Session, if not before (on some day which I leave to be settled in the next edition of Moore's planetary almanack,) an ominous and temporary junction will take place between the Wellington Mars, and the O'Connell Jupiter, with all his tributary satellites—a motion will be made (perhaps by the Right Hon. Baronet, the member for Kent,* and seconded by Mr.

* Sir Edward Knatchbull.

O'Dwyer, the late and probably future member for Drogheda) that the House has no confidence in his Majesty's Ministers; and on a division, the number will appear:—Ayes 426, Noes 197—Majority 229."

Mr. Sinclair is in personal height about the usual size. His complexion is fair, and his hair light. On the fore part of his head there is an incipient baldness. His features are large, and have something of an intellectual expression about them. He is in his forty-fifth year.

It may be proper to mention, in concluding this chapter, that the above are not all the religious members in the house. They are those only who, on all occasions when religious topics are introduced, take the most prominent part in the discussion of them.

CHAPTER XVII.

NEW MEMBERS.

SIR WILLIAM FOLLETT—MR. SERJEANT TALFOURD —MR. BORTHWICK—COLONEL THOMPSON.

The number of new members returned at the last election was not so great as might, under the circumstances, have been expected; and but very few of those that were then returned for the first time, had previously occupied any very prominent place in public estimation.

On the Tory, or Conservative side, the most valuable new return, beyond all question, was that of Sir William Follet, the member for Exeter. Sir William, though only in his forty-second year, had already raised himself to the highest distinction as a lawyer. He was known not only to be an excellent speaker, but a man of very rare talents, and of great intellectual acquirements. He was known, at the same time, to be decidedly in favour of Conservative views: hence that party greeted him with a most cordial welcome on his entrance into Parliament. He was also appointed Solicitor

General by Sir Robert Peel, which gave him additional importance. His maiden speech was looked forward to with great anxiety, not only by the Conservative party, but by the Whigs and Radicals. It was generally expected that he would have spoken on the answer to the King's Speech; but he allowed the occasion to pass over without saying a word. Weeks passed away and he was silent. The Church Surplus Property Appropriation question came on for discussion, and as that was a question which not only most deeply affected some of the principles he most warmly cherished, but was, in its results, to be decisive of the fate of the Government of which he formed a part, he could no longer remain mute. He accordingly spoke, on the second night of the debate, if I remember rightly, and seldom had an abler or more effective speech been delivered within the walls of Parliament. His speech occupied about an hour and a-quarter in the delivery, and was listened to from beginning to end with breathless attention. The regret which men of all shades of political opinion felt, was that it did not last longer. It was commended in the warmest terms by every one who heard it. The next great question on which he spoke was that of the Municipal Corporation Reform. On it he spoke repeatedly, and with very

great eloquence and ability. There is a remarkable clearness in his speeches. He makes you understand, as fully as he does himself, the drift of his argument. His mode of thinking is vigorous, and his reasoning is close and masterly. He never digresses for a moment from the object he has in view, nor loses sight of the positions he wishes to establish. You see what he would be at, and you see he is leading you to it by the most direct road. His style is also chaste and nervous; it is elegant without being flowery. He never goes out of his way in quest of rhetorical expressions. He employs the phraseology which most readily and naturally suggests itself to his mind, and yet it could hardly be improved, however great were the amount of labour bestowed upon it. His manner is also simple and natural. He does not use any extravagant gesture: he chiefly confines it to a slight movement of his face and body from one part of the opposite side of the house to another, and to a gentle raising and lowering of his right arm, accompanied by an occasional stroke of his hand on the table. His voice partakes, in a very great degree, of a bass tone, which, as he can modulate it at pleasure, is particularly effective in the most impassioned parts of his speeches. His utterance is timed with much good taste to the ear: it is neither too rapid nor too

slow. His articulation is very distinct; and he always speaks loud enough to be heard in all parts of the house.

In personal height he is about the usual size; but inclines to stoutness. His frame is compact and seemingly very strong. His features are strongly marked. His nose is short and flat; and his eyelashes unusually large. His face is round, his complexion very dark, and his hair black. His countenance is pleasing, but certainly wants the intellectual expression which might be expected in such a man. He is undoubtedly the most promising man, of any party, who has entered Parliament for some years past. The Conservatives may well be proud of him.

Among the new Liberal members returned at the last election, Mr. SERJEANT TALFOURD was by far the best known. I never knew a man enter Parliament concerning whom I had higher expectations. I had heard him speak repeatedly out of doors, and coupling that with his acknowledged literary attainments, and the burning enthusiasm with which he was known to cherish his principles, I was fully persuaded, in my own mind, that his first exhibition would dazzle and delight the House. The event proved I had made a miscalculation. He made his *debût* the night after

Sir William Follett, to whose speech his was chiefly a reply. He spoke for about an hour, but did not, to any extent, gain the attention of the House. Considerable noise, and great listlessness, prevailed all the time. In short, his *debût* was a complete failure in so far as effect was concerned, though the speech was one of great eloquence and ability. There were many accidental circumstances, it is true, which operated against him. He was, in the first place, most unhappy in the time he chose for addressing the House. It was so early as six o'clock, an hour when no man of any note is ever expected to speak, and when, from the noise and confusion, caused by members entering the house, even the most popular and influential members could hardly insure attention. Then, again, the house was remarkably thin at the time; and nothing can more seriously impair the effect of a good speech, than its delivery when the benches are empty. Lastly, he pitched his voice in too low a key. He spoke no louder than he was accustomed to do in the courts of law, forgetting the house was six times as large, and the members diffused over eight or nine times the space; for in courts of law, all the persons present are generally congregated within a few yards of the counsel. But besides these disadvantageous circumstances, there was some-

thing in the matter of the speech, which militated greatly against its enthusiastic, or even favourable reception. It was far too refined: it was one of the most elaborate and philosophically reasoned I ever heard delivered in the house. There were but few members who, even after the most close attention, would have been able to follow the speaker, and if once you lost the thread of his argument, the rest would have been in a great measure unintelligible to you. It was exactly a speech of that nature, which ought to have been delivered in a quiet, snug room, to a dozen or so of the most philosophical men of the present day. In that case it would have been appreciated: the admiration of it by such an audience, would have known no bounds.

Mr. Serjeant Talfourd is poetical and eloquent in the highest degree. His matter almost cloys one with its richness. In beautiful and appropriate imagery, he excels all men I ever heard speak:—I mean in the more carefully wrought passages when speaking on important questions. He is fond of introducing a great deal of scriptural phraseology into his speeches. In his maiden effort in Parliament, there was much of this. He talked of "quitting themselves like men," of being "knit together in love," &c. &c.

His second, and I believe, only other speech in

the house, was in defence of the Municipal Corporation Bill. It was very short. It did not occupy above ten minutes in the delivery. It was much less refined than the other, and was delivered at a more suitable hour of the evening, and to a House in a more attentive mood. It consequently told with better effect. Still, the reception he met with on the occasion, was not at all equal to what would have been expected by those who have heard him in the courts of law.

In person Mr. Sergeant Talfourd is about the middle size, and well made. His hair is black, and his complexion very dark. His features are small, and his face round. He has the most piercing eyes I ever saw; they have much of what lovers call a languishing expression about them. His face has altogether much of a soft and feminine appearance. He is a man of much kindness of heart, and much affability of manner. I question if there is a man of more cultivated mind in the house. He is about forty years of age.

Mr. Borthwick, the member for Evesham, is one of whom great expectations were also entertained by those who previously knew him. He is a Conservative, and is returned through the influence of a rich Conservative baronet. As a speaker at public meetings, before he entered Parliament,

he has seldom been surpassed; as a debater, I hardly ever knew his equal. His talents for public speaking and debating were so warmly spoken of by those who had an opportunity of forming an opinion on the subject, that the West-India interest appointed him, in 1832–33, to make the tour of the country, for the purpose of replying to the statements made by the Abolitionists, respecting the condition of the negroes in the colonies. And ably did he perform his task. I may mention, in proof of the expectations which his own party entertained of a successful parliamentary *debût*, that the first time he spoke, which was in the second week of the Session, Sir Robert Peel paid the most marked attention to him for fifteen or twenty minutes; but, as if satisfied that Mr. Borthwick's talents had been over-rated, the right honourable Baronet then quitted the house. Mr. Borthwick continued to speak for nearly an hour after, but very little attention was paid to what he said. He has often spoken since, but somehow or other is very unpopular in the house. In the very last speech he made, which was within a fortnight of the close of the Session, he was coughed, and sneezed, and yawned at, and ironically cheered, to a very unpleasant extent. In the midst of these interruptions, he uttered a rather unusual threat. He said, that if the House did

not allow him to conclude in his own time, and in his own way, he was determined not to conclude at all. A universal shout of laughter greeted the sentence.

In stature he is rather under the middle size. He is well formed, and has a very handsome face. His complexion is slightly dark, and his hair beautifully black. He is about thirty-five years of age.

Colonel THOMPSON, the member for Hull, was not returned at the last general election. He was chosen on the death of Mr. Carruthers, the late member. He was one from whom great things were expected by the Radical party, to whom he belongs, and for whom he has done so much by his writings in the *Westminster Review*. Of that journal he is now sole editor, Dr. Bowring having quitted the management of it eighteen or twenty months since. Colonel Thompson cannot be said to have failed, because he has not yet attempted any thing in the way of speaking. He made some observations on the presentation of the petition from Hull against his return; but beyond that he has not, I believe, delivered a single sentence even in the course of the desultory conversation which so often occurs when the House is in Committee. I have heard him speak in public; he is by no means an attractive speaker, and I have no idea he will

ever acquire any distinction in that way in the house. As awriter, however, he is one of the most nervous and acute, though generally quaint in style, of the present day. He is a thorough-going Radical, and is allowed, by all who know him, to be a man of the strictest integrity.

In person, he is short and stout. He dresses plainly. He generally wears a blue coat. His complexion is a mixture of red and fair. His face is large, and has something of the oval form. His hair is beginning to get grey. He is about sixty years of age. He is one of the most attentive men to his parliamentary duties in the house.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

It can hardly be necessary to mention, that in selecting for special notice the members whose names I have given in previous chapters of this work, I have been guided solely by the frequency with which their names appeared before the public. The consequence has been that I have been obliged to give sketches of some honourable gentlemen who, on the mere abstract ground of talent, were not so much entitled to a notice as many others whose names scarcely ever meet the public eye. There are many members in the house who are known to those on terms of intimacy with them, to be men of extensive information and distinguished abilities, who never open their mouths at all. I could mention the names of many such individuals, but am prevented from doing so lest I should thereby be unintentionally unjust to others, who, although unknown to me, possess equal claims to be so singled out. There are other members, again, of very great abilities almost as much un-

known to Parliamentary fame, who deliver one speech, perhaps, in the course of two or three Sessions. I cannot forbear to mention the name of Mr. Charles Russell, member for Reading, as an instance of this. Mr. Russell is a liberal Tory, and has sat for the above borough since 1830; but he has spoken so very seldom as to be almost entirely unknown to the public. Towards the close of last Session, however, he made a speech in opposition to Mr. Grote's motion for the Vote by Ballot, which was allowed on all hands to be one of the ablest, if not the very ablest, ever delivered on that side of the question. It lasted for about an hour, and was certainly one of the most closely and ably reasoned speeches I ever heard in the house. The manner of delivery, however, was very much against it. Mr. Russell had evidently carefully studied it before-hand, and that circumstance concurred with a natural habit of speaking rapidly, to make him hurry through it in that monotonous and mechanical way in which school-boys repeat the tasks they have committed to memory. His voice, too, is weak, and therefore he was but imperfectly heard in the more distant parts of the house. Had the speech been delivered by Sir Robert Peel, or any other first-rate speaker, it would have electrified the auditors.

I have often been struck with the number of

members who have shone on the hustings, and at public meetings, who have completely failed in the house. The cause of this is sometimes to be found in the members themselves, sometimes in the House, but more frequently in both. The confidence which sustains public speakers when addressing a mixed multitude, often forsakes them in their maiden efforts in the house, and there is consequently a corresponding inferiority in the quality of their matter—if the speech be not previously prepared—and a proportionate deduction from the excellence of the delivery. No one but those who have experienced it can form any idea of the paralysing effect produced, both on the matter and manner of the speaker, when, instead of having his almost every sentence greeted with the deafening plaudits of a mixed assembly, he is not only heard without a murmur of applause, but perhaps with the most marked indifference and inattention. A new member who meets with a cold reception when making his first speech in the house, especially if previously popular with promiscuous assemblages of people, is usually so mortified, disappointed, and disheartened, that he either never makes another experiment of the kind, or if he do, the chances are ten to one he will be so disconcerted by the recollection of his former failure, as to meet with

no better success on his second effort. There are many new members, however, who make an unsuccessful *debût*,—as I have already mentioned when speaking of Mr. Sergeant Talfourd's failure,—simply from ignorance of the best time to address the House. Unless the person have a very high out-of-doors reputation, indeed, for his oratorical acquirements, he is sure to have a listless unwilling audience if he speak between the hours of five and nine o'clock, when a question of importance is before the House. Not only, as observed in a previous chapter, is no good speaker, or member of talent, expected to address the House in that interval of time, but the constant bustle and noise occasioned by the ingress and egress of members, are most unfavourable to oratorical effect.

I know there are many new members who are aware, that to address the House at an early hour when any question of importance is under discussion, is sure to operate against them; but then they are equally aware that there is very little chance of catching the eye of the Speaker at a later hour, the most distinguished men in the house being, in almost every instance, previously fixed on in the Speaker's mind, for addressing the House after nine or ten o'clock. The best course for new members to adopt, who are qualified, or conceive themselves to be so,

for making an appearance, as it is called, in the house, would be to give notice of a motion for a particular evening on some question of general importance. They would, in that case, make their *debût* under every advantage. Those anxious to see how they would acquit themselves on their first effort, would be present, and be attentive listeners, which would go far to insure the attention of others. The *debûtant* would be allowed to speak as long as he pleased, and would be certain of meeting with no clamour or interruption; for I hardly recollect one instance—with the single exception of the case of Mr. Hunt, when he brought forward a motion which had folly on the face of it, respecting the propriety of granting a general pardon to those who had been convicted by the Special Commission of that period, and which he prefaced by a speech extending to so unreasonable a length as to occupy four hours in the delivery,*—with this exception, I scarcely recollect an instance of any attempt to put down a speaker when introducing a motion to the House. Then, again, new members have, in this case, the right of reply, which affords an excellent opportunity to those who have talents for extempore speaking, of displaying those talents to advantage.

* This motion was negatived by a majority of 209 to 2.

Every one acquainted with the House, must have been struck with the great addition to the number of religious members, which has been made within the last few years. This fact is conclusively shown in the reception which late Bills for the better observance of the Sabbath have met with, compared with the way in which those formerly introduced were treated. Sir Andrew Agnew's first Sabbath Bill, four years ago, was lost, on the second reading, by a majority of two to one. In 1834, Mr. Poulter's Sabbath Bill was read a second time by a small majority, though lost in the third reading. The second reading of the Sabbath Bill of the same gentleman introduced last Session, was carried by a considerable majority, with reference to the numbers in the house at the time, though lost in an after-stage by a small majority. I am aware there are several Members who voted for the Sabbath Bills of Mr. Poulter, who would not have voted for those of Sir Andrew Agnew, the latter being of a much more sweeping character than the former; but from a calculation I have made, I am satisfied Sir Andrew Agnew's minority, were he to re-introduce either of his former Sabbath Bills into the house, would be a third larger than on any former occasion. So great was the increase in the number of the supporters of his Bill, or of those in

favour of the principle of the measure, last year, that the second reading was lost by a majority of only 36, the numbers being, for the second reading, 125; against it, 161.

It must often have been remarked by my readers that certain honourable members now and then emerge, by means of some accidental occurrence, from obscurity, and in a day or two fall back again into as great oblivion as ever. Mr. Hume has been the means made use of by several honourable members for bringing themselves into this temporary notice. He is known to be a man of a remarkably peaceable disposition, and not likely either to give or accept a challenge. In the course of last Session, there were two memorable instances of members emerging for a few days from obscurity through means of attacks on Mr. Hume. The first was Mr. Charlton, the member for Ludlow, whose name hardly ever before met the public eye. Mr. Hume, or he, I do not recollect which, was addressing a few remarks to the House in the midst of considerable noise, when the other dissenting from some particular expression, the party speaking said, with much tartness of manner, "Hold your tongue, "Sir!" The other retorted, "You are an im-"pudent fellow." So at least the latter thought and said. Mr. Charlton that night penned a

challenge to Mr. Hume, which the latter received the next morning. Mr. Hume immediately on the House meeting brought the subject before it as a breach of privilege, dwelling in a most pathetic strain on the fact of his having received the hostile billet just as he was in the act of sitting down to breakfast, and which proved fatal to an appetite, the excellence and keenness of which, but a moment before, had never been exceeded. A discussion of some length followed; and Mr. Charlton was attacked in the *Morning Chronicle* and other Liberal papers of the following day. This gave him an opportunity of replying in those papers; so that, for a few days, his name met every body's eye, and was in every body's mouth. In a week after, Mr. Charlton was forgotten, and has not since been heard of. He is, according to his own representation, a moderate Reformer.

On another occasion—it occurred, I think, in the beginning of July last—honourable members were much amused at the way in which Mr. Kearsley, member for Wigan, brought himself into temporary notice by attacking Mr. Hume. The House was in a Committee of Supply at the time, and the member for Middlesex was, as is usual on such occasions, making quite a field-day of it. He opposed almost every grant of money that was that

evening proposed for the public service. While opposing one of these grants,

Mr. Kearsley rose and addressed the Chairman as follows, looking, however, not at him, but at Mr. Hume in the face:—"Mr. Bernal: It has often been said in this House and elsewhere, that the honourable member for Middlesex has been very useful to the country by checking the extravagant expenditure of Ministers. But after what I have just seen with my own eyes, I put down his conduct as perfect humbug. (Roars of laughter with some cries of Hear! hear!) Yes, and I pronounce the honourable member himself, to be a complete humbug (Renewed bursts of laughter, with cries of Order, order! from a few voices). I do not mean any personal unkindness to the honourable member, but I must say, that when a vote was put to the House for granting some secret service money,—it was thirty something (Loud laughter) £30,000 odd, I believe,—I saw an honourable gentleman connected with the noble Lord (Lord John Russell) opposite, go up to him, and give him a check for coming forward (Loud laughter mingled with cheers from the Conservative side of the house),—I saw it, Sir, (Laughter)—yes, Sir, with my own eyes I saw it, (Renewed laughter from all parts of the House). It's a perfect humbug, Sir; a complete humbug,

Sir, and nothing else (Hear, hear! and roars of laughter).

Mr. Kearsley, who is a short, thick-set, and remarkably good-natured man, delivered these observations with such an emphasis and peculiarity of manner, staring Mr. Hume—who was directly opposite him—all the while in the face, that had the celebrated weeping philosopher of antiquity himself been present, he could not have refrained from joining in the universal laughter.

Mr. Hume replied to the charge of being "a humbug," "a complete humbug," "a perfect humbug"—as follows:—"I am afraid that the honourable member's optics are not in the best possible state to-night. (Great laughter.) I think the honourable member sees double. (Continued laughter.) I certainly did protest against voting £30,000 secret-service money; but I am glad we have reduced the grant so low, for we formerly voted £60,000 and upwards for the same purpose. As to the honourable gentleman's charge against me, I tell him that no person whatever spoke to me on the subject. No man has ever attempted to control or check me in my public conduct. I will be controlled by no man—and least of all shall the honourable member control me."

Mr. Kearsley, on this, leaped to his feet, or, as

the *Times* of the following morning had it, "started up with great animation," and looking Mr. Hume steadily and very significantly in the face, gave vent to the emotions which agitated his bosom, as follows:—"And I tell the honourable member for Middlesex, in return, that of all men he is not the person whom I shall suffer to control me. If I have any infirmity of sight, and cannot see, it is not very civil on the part of the honourable member to tell me of it. (Laughter.) It's not what I call politeness. (Order, order! and renewed laughter.) I tell the honourable gentleman, that if my sight is not so good as it ought to be, neither is his head so good as it ought to be. (Loud laughter, and cheers from the Opposition.) I tell him that I can see to count up the "*tottel**of the *whole*" as well as he can. (A loud and universal roar of laughter followed this.) No, I'll not be put down by the honourable member for Middlesex. (Cries of Order, order!) No, nor will I be put down by any man who supports him, whether he be on the honourable member's right hand or left hand. (Loud laughter, with cries of Order!) The eyes of the country are upon us, and they'll soon judge which

* This is a common expression of Mr. Hume's; the word *total* being always pronounced with a broad Scotch accent "*tottel*."

of us is right, and which of us is wrong—who's a humbug, and who is not. (Renewed bursts of laughter.)

Mr Hume, whom it is impossible to put out of temper, said by way of rejoinder :—" I beg the honourable member not to mistake me; I did not say any thing about the infirmity of his eyes. I did not accuse him of *not* seeing; I only accused him of seeing too much." (Loud laughter.)

Mr. Kearsley, who seemed by this time to have recovered his usual composure and good-nature, said in reference to this:—"The honourable member is out of his reckoning again." (Laughter.)

The matter then dropped, but the account of the harmless interchange of wit between Mr. Kearsley and Mr. Hume, occupied a conspicuous place in the newspapers of the following morning, and went the round of the provincial journals, accompanied in some instances with a " word of comment." Mr. Kearsley's name was consequently for eight or ten days kept constantly before the public eye. He then, like Mr. Charlton, fell back again into his obscurity, and nothing more has since been heard of him.

The practice of seeing double in the house, after a certain hour, is not new. It was quite common as far back as the days of Pitt and Dundas. They

were in the habit of dialoguing each other after having dined together, as follows:—

PITT.—"I can't see the Speaker, Hal; can you?"
DUNDAS.—"Not see the Speaker, Billy!—I see two!"

It is often amusing to witness the undue importance which some honourable members attach to particular measures, while others of incomparably greater moment, seem scarcely to excite the least attention in their minds. One very striking illustration of this occurred towards the close of last Session. Mr. Freshfield, the member for Penryn, and a barrister by profession, conceived the most inveterate dislike to Sir John Campbell's bill for the Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt, and that dislike he took every opportunity of evincing. He opposed the bill most strenuously in its every stage through the House. Even after it had gone through Committee, and was fixed for a third reading, he opposed it (though such a course is most unusual) as vehemently as ever. The third reading was appointed for a Saturday, and though there were not above fifteen or twenty members in the house, and only one or two, as far as I could learn, opposed to the measure, he spoke, and certainly with considerable ability, more than an hour in opposition to it. If its certain effect had been to plunge the country into an immediate and universal revolution, he

could not have dwelt more earnestly on the evils with which, as he alleged, it was fraught. He denounced not only Sir John Campbell himself, but all those who sanctioned the measure, as committing an offence against the well-being of the country and society of the most enormous magnitude. In short, I never knew a man feel more strongly on any subject.

I have known many instances of members who had been silent during the whole of a long parliamentary career, having their mouths opened, as they say when licensing a clergyman in Scotland to preach, by some measure which immediately affected themselves personally or their constituents. One instance of this occurred in the case of the right honourable Colonel Francis Grant, of Grant, member for the united counties of Moray and Nairn, and a gentleman of great private worth. The gallant Colonel has been in Parliament nearly thirty years, but never, so far as I am aware, attempted to utter a word in it, until, in the year 1832, the House, when in Committee on the Scotch Reform Bill, came to that clause which proposed a junction between the counties of Moray and Nairn in the return of a representative to Parliament. The gallant Colonel was not only strenuously opposed to such union individually, but the

thing was most unpopular in the county he represented, and his constituents urged him to offer every opposition to it in his power. He accordingly made a speech of some length and much ability against it. The speech was greatly admired by those who heard it, as it afterwards was by those who read it in the *Mirror of Parliament*. The gallant Colonel, who is of a retiring and diffident disposition, has not spoken in the house since then; at least, not to the best of my recollection.

Mr. Bish, the member for Leominster, of "Lucky Corner" and £30,000 prizes celebrity, could never be prevailed on to open his mouth in the house, except on two subjects. The one was always brought forward by himself,—I refer to his singular annual motion, for some years past, for Parliament sitting once every three years in Dublin. The other subject I allude to is that of Government Lotteries. If any other honourable member ever mentioned this subject, up started Mr. Bish the moment he sat down, and descanted on the infinite benefit of which such lotteries were productive to the country. He was sure, on all such occasions, stoutly to maintain, that Government lotteries were the very life and soul of the country—that to sanction them was the most striking proof of enlightened legislation which ever any senate exhibited to the

world—and that to do away with them was "demonstration strong" of our rapid retrogression towards barbarism.

Schedule A in the Reform Bill, which destroyed so many close boroughs, worked miracles in the way of causing dumb legislators to speak. The zeal which many of the representatives of these boroughs, who felt a presentiment, that, with their extinction would close their own legislative career, evinced, when the clauses proposing their annihilation, were read, exceeded any thing I ever witnessed. The representatives of these places dwelt on the irreparable injury the House was therein doing to the Constitution, with an energy and animation which surprised all who heard them.

THE END.

LONDON:
Printed by J. L. Cox and Sons, 75, Great Queen Street,
Lincoln's-Inn Fields.